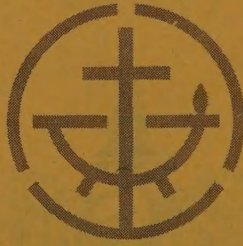


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HELLENISM AND CHRISTIANITY

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HELLENISM

AND

CHRISTIANITY

By

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PREFACE.

THE present volume is intended to be a sequel to the author's *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, in which the teaching of Jesus was compared with the teaching of the Synagogue. An attempt is made in the present book to inquire into the relation between the New Testament Christology and the theology underlying the creeds and cults of the Hellenistic world in the first century, C.E.

The latest results in the study of comparative religious history enable us to account for the rise of Christianity, without being obliged to rely *exclusively* upon the Gospels and the other books of the New Testament. The studies of Frazer, Pfeiderer, Deissmann, Cumont, Gunkel, Jeremias and Brückner have made it possible for the following pages to be written. The aim of the writer is to consider more particularly some aspects of the Messianic doctrine peculiar to the New Testament, and in the second place to compare this doctrine with Judaism and the other contemporary religions. It will be

necessary to discuss somewhat in detail some of the Messianic titles found in the New Testament. We will try to determine whether Hellenism or Judaism is to be held responsible for the origin and development of these Christological terms and ideas which Judaism has invariably rejected, in spite of the incessant attempts on the part of the Christian Church to convert the unbelief of Israel. No attempt will be made to attack in any way any section of Christendom ; but the author believes that the time is now ripe for placing before his co-religionists some of the results of comparative theology established by modern historical criticism, excavation and scientific research.

The Jew has guarded most loyally his splendid heritage for many centuries in the past ; and he will, it is hoped, find in the following pages some modern reasons for adhering to the faith of his fathers. The Jew still believes that the mission of Israel is a real living power in the world of to-day. To live the true Jewish life is the highest ideal he knows. He has learnt from the Prophets and from history that Israel has been chosen to be a "light to the Gentiles" ; but he has also been taught, and he has experienced, that the light of Israel is God. The Christian Church has always felt herself bound to preach and teach her doctrines to Jews and other disbelievers. The Jews have, for nineteen centuries past, rarely followed the lines laid down by the Church, because they had no opportunity of engaging in missionary work, and because they had no desire to attack Christianity ; but

their only concern was to defend Judaism, and to safeguard their glorious heritage. This is also the Jewish attitude to-day. We ask that the missionaries who seek to capture the souls of Israel should begin their labours by considering the established facts of history, which constitute no small part of truth. The only defence that a real religion needs is truth, which is being revealed more and more, day by day.

The subject selected, *Hellenism and Christianity*, is, it is believed, somewhat novel, inasmuch as there is no work in English written by a Jew on this theme. In another sense the subject dealt with is also new, because there is no English book extant, which has approached the topic from the modern historical and critical standpoint. It will be necessary to have recourse to the two sources of new light, which compel us to reconsider in their entirety our old theories in the domain of New Testament origins. I refer to the study of Comparative Religion, and secondly, we must take note of the new study of Eastern Archæology. In this subject Dr. Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* is epoch-making. Many of the conclusions which will be drawn must be more or less of a tentative character. The mediæval apologist, Isaac of Troki, did well to quote the proverb, "If Socrates and Plato are dear to us, the Truth is dearer still." I shall try to apply the touchstone of truth to many forms of religion, and shall abide loyally by the result. May I not expect my readers to act likewise?

August, 1912.

G.F.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

(Excluding the usual abbreviations of Biblical Books.)

Art.	...	...	...	article.
A.T.	...	...	...	Altes Testament.
A.T.A.O.	...	...	...	<i>Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients</i> (Jeremias).
B.C.E.	...	...	...	Before the Common Era.
c.	...	...	...	circa.
C.E.	...	...	...	Common Era.
C.W.	...	...	...	Cohn-Wendland, ed. of Philo.
<i>Die Religion</i>	...	...	...	<i>Die Religion des Judentums im neuentamentlichen Zeitalter</i> (Bousset).
D.B.	...	...	...	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> (Hastings).
D.C.G.	...	...	...	<i>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels</i> (Hastings).
ed.	...	...	...	edition.
<i>Enc. Bib.</i>	...	...	...	<i>Encyclopædia Biblica.</i>
<i>Enc. Brit.</i>	...	...	...	<i>Encyclopædia Britannica.</i>
Euseb.	...	...	...	Eusebius.
E.T.	...	...	...	English Translation.
Eth.	...	...	...	Ethiopic.
f.	...	...	...	following.
G.B.	...	...	...	<i>Golden Bough</i> (Frazer).
Glover,	...	...	...	Glover, <i>The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire.</i>
Gesch.	...	...	...	Geschichte.
H.J.P.	...	...	...	<i>History of the Jewish People.</i>
J.E.	...	...	...	<i>Jewish Encyclopedia.</i>
<i>jüd. Gesch. u. Lit.</i>	...	...	...	<i>Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur.</i>
J.Q.R.	...	...	...	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review.</i>
Kautzsch's A. u. P.	...	...	...	Kautzsch, <i>Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments.</i>
Kautzsch's O.T.	...	...	...	The Old Testament in German with commentary, ed. Kautzsch.
LXX.	...	...	...	Septuagint.
M.	...	...	...	Mangey, ed of Philo.
N.T.	...	...	...	New Testament.
N.T.	...	...	...	Neues Testament.
O.T.	...	...	...	Old Testament.
Pal. Am.	...	...	...	Palästinische Amoräer.
Pat.	...	...	...	Patriarchs.
p.	...	...	...	page.
Rab.	...	...	...	Rabba.
R.V.	...	...	...	Revised Version.
Roscher	...	...	...	<i>Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> (Roscher).
T.B.	...	...	...	Talmud Babli.
T.J.	...	...	...	" Jerushalmi.
Test.	...	...	...	Testament.
Theol.	...	...	...	Theologisch.
Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theol.	...	...	...	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> (Hilgenfeld).

CHAPTER I.

THE SON OF MAN AS A MESSIANIC TITLE.

MODERN theologians are generally disposed to see in the New Testament theology the religious thought current among the Palestinian Jews of the first century. Thus, because the Gospels speak of the "Son of Man" as a Messianic title, it is taken for granted that to the Jews to whom Jesus spoke in Galilee, or in Judea, this term meant all that modern theology reads into it. We find that this assumption has been adopted by such eminent scholars as Pfleiderer, Gunkel and Bousset. The opinions of these authorities have been recently utilized by Drews in his "*Christ Myth*." According to this writer¹ the New Testament looks upon Jesus as a God. Dr. Drews tries to account for this doctrine by assuming that the Jews, before the time that Jesus is supposed to have lived, worshipped a cult-God named Jesus. Dr. Drews also deals with the New Testament doctrine of the Messiah as a pre-existent divine being known as the "Son of Man" and the "Son of God."

Our immediate purpose is to discuss the meaning and history of the term "Son of Man." In other

¹*Christ Myth*, p. 62 f.

words, What did the Messianic idea mean to a Jew of Palestine in the first century C.E.? We are informed by Dr. Drews¹ that at first the prophets had described "the Messiah as a human being, as a new David or of his seed—theocratic king, divinely favoured prince of peace, and just ruler over his people." Thus far so good. This is an excellent description, and if it had only been left at this point, we should have been content with this very brief account. Dr. Drews is, however, only on the threshold of his Messianic edifice. He asserts, following Dr. Gunkel's theory, which is set forth in his fascinating and valuable book "*Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*,"² that "among the prophets the Messiah was more and more assigned the part of a divine king. . . . Secret and supernatural, as was his nature, so should the birth of the Messiah be. Though a divine child, he was born in lowly state. The personality of the Messiah mingled with that of God Himself, as though it were God Himself, of whose ascending the throne and journey heavenwards the Psalmists sing. These alternations of the Messiah between a human and a divine nature appear still more clearly in the Jewish Apocalyp-
tics of the last century before, and the first century after Christ. Thus the Apocalypse of Daniel (c. 165 B.C.E.) speaks of one, who as the Son of Man will descend upon the clouds of Heaven and will be brought before the "Ancient of Days." The whole

¹*Op. cit.* pp. 40 ff.

²pp. 24 ff.

tone of the passage leaves no doubt that the Son of Man (barnasha) is a superhuman being representing the Deity." Thus far Dr. Drews and his authority, Dr. Gunkel.

At first sight, this theory might seem most convincing. Prophets and Psalmists are cited as authorities for declaring the Messiah of Israel to be a divine being. It is therefore imperative to investigate this theory, which has not been refuted or questioned in any quarter. It is quite inadmissible to infer from the *names* or *titles* "divine hero" and "Father of Eternity" which occur in Isaiah (ix. 5), that the Messiah was transfigured by the prophet or by his readers into a divine being. Assuming for the moment that this passage in Isaiah refers to the Messiah, then the titles bestowed on him, El Gibbor,² Abi 'Ad³ ("divine hero, father of eternity") no more imply Deity, than do the words used by Jacob when addressing Esau (Genesis xxxiii. 10); "Forasmuch as I have seen thy face, as one seeth the face of God." This conclusion is even accepted by Dr. Duham in his commentary on Isaiah (*in loc.*). The Jews, however, have by no means interpreted Isaiah ix. 5, as referring to the Messiah. Rashi, Ibn-Ezra and Kimchi, explain the verse as pointing to Hezekiah *i.e.* "God Strengthens" whose name is paraphrased in El Gibbor ("divine hero," or, rather, "mighty hero"). Needless to say there is no biblical authority

¹ *Christ Myth*, p. 41.

² אל גבור

³ אבי-עד

for speaking of the Messiah as a divine child whose nature and birth were to be supernatural.

The name Abi 'Ad ("*father of eternity*") might also be rendered "father of booty."¹ The Targum of this verse of Isaiah has also been held to teach the divinity of the Messiah. It is usually translated by Christian scholars as follows: "To us a child is born, to us a son is given, and he shall receive the law upon him to keep it, and his name is called from eternity Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, Continuing for ever, the Messiah; for peace shall be multiplied upon us in his days." This version is not quite accurate, inasmuch as the Aramaic מן קדם which is translated "from eternity" should be rendered "before" or "in the presence of" (see instances in Levy's Targum Dictionary ii. p. 345). The Targum passage should be rendered thus:—"And his name is called before Him (Who is Wonderful in counsel, the Mighty God, abiding for ever) Messiah."

Dr. Drummond² very properly observes: "as there is nothing answering to מן קדם in the Hebrew original, we can hardly avoid supposing that the Targumist inserted the phrase with the distinct intention of removing from the Messiah a series of epithets which appeared unduly exalted. Elsewhere the Targums represent the Messiah simply as a human being, of the house of David." The most recent edition of Kautzsch's Old Testament does not attribute any

¹See Biur *in loc.*

²*The Jewish Messiah*, p. 295.

divinity or supernatural nature to the king described by Isaiah in the famous ixth chapter. On the other hand, it is only fair to point out that according to Dr. Gressmann, the title 'El Gibbor' is used elsewhere in the Old Testament as a divine title. He refers to Is. x. 21; Jer. xxxii. 18 and Deut. x. 17. He concludes that the 'El Gibbor' or Hero-God of Is. ix. 5, is a human king and God at the same time, a sort of demi-God.¹ It is worth while to glance at the passages mentioned by this scholar. In Jer. xxxii. 18, God is spoken of as "great and mighty"; but the *exact* form of Isaiah's expression is not to be found in Jeremiah. The same criticism holds good with reference to Deut. x. 17. The only other passage is Isaiah x. 21, "A remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob unto *the mighty God*." But the text of Isaiah ix. 5. might also be rendered:—"And his name has been called Marvellous Counsellor of *the mighty God*."

Dr. Gunkel refers to Micah v. 2, to support his theory that the Messiah's birth is of a mysterious character.² This verse is rendered by the Revised Version as follows:—"But thou, Beth-lehem Ephraim, which art little to be among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall one come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth are from of old, from everlasting." This version might be improved.

¹*Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*(1905), p. 281.

²*Op. cit.* p. 24 f.

We suggest the following :—" But thou Bethlehem Ephrathah, which art to be least among the thousands of Judah, from thee shall he come forth unto me who is to be ruler over Israel ; whose ancestry belongs to the past, even to the days of old." There is no idea here of the pre-existence of the Messiah, as Dr. Horton suggests in *The Century Bible* (*in loc.*). The doctrine of the mysterious birth is hardly warranted by the next verse :—"Therefore will he give them up until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth." The Hebrew text would be more correctly rendered by the following version :—"Therefore will he give them up until the time which travaileth hath brought forth." Kautzsch (ii., p. 53,) renders the passage :—"Therefore will he give them up until the time when one, who is to travail hath brought forth." That is to say, God will send the second David (the Messiah) who will rule over the world and restore peace to Israel, but until he has been born, God will allow His people to suffer. Dr. Guthe, the writer of the Commentary in Kautzsch (*ibid.*), thinks it just possible that Micah (v. 2,) may be connected with Isaiah vii. 14, the famous *Immanuel* passage. In neither case does Dr. Guthe suggest the slightest reference to a supernatural Messiah.

Dr. Gunkel's Messianic theory is adopted by Drews.¹ We are given to understand by these scholars that "the personality of the Messiah mingled with that of God."

¹Gunkel, *op. cit.* p. 24 f., and Drews, *op. cit.* p. 41.

The passages of Scripture which are quoted to support this new interpretation are: Pss. xlvii. 6, 9, and lvii. 12. As a matter of fact there is no reference to the Messiah in the xlviith Psalm. God alone is described as the King of the earth. Psalm lvii. 12 must be a printer's mistake; the last verse of this Psalm, according to the English Revised Version, is verse 11:—"Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens; let thy glory be above all the earth." Dr. Gunkel, of course, follows the German Bible, and quite accurately refers to verse 12. Here again there is no thought of the Messianic King. Kautzsch (ii., p. 153) considers Psalm xlvii. to be a hymn of praise in honour of God as the King of all people. He takes Psalm lvii. as the Psalmist's prayer to God. The Messiah is not mentioned at all in the entire Psalm.

It is very remarkable that statements such as the one in question are not only allowed to pass unchallenged, but they are repeated by theologians, who are satisfied that if Dr. Gunkel says that it is so then there is an end to the matter. Moreover, do we not find that various Old Testament passages are referred to as the authority for the conclusions arrived at by the modern scholars? It is only by careful examination of the authorities relied on by the religious historical school that we are able to determine whether the latest results of criticism are to be rejected or accepted. As an instance of this method, the following illustration will show how

necessary it is to test for oneself the facts assumed to be established by modern criticism.

"It has been shown by recent research," says Dr. Percy Gardner in his erudite book on *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*¹ "that the notion of an exalted spiritual Messiah, who should come from heaven and was to return thither, who was to be no mere earthly king and conqueror, but a great angelic being, was by no means unknown among the Jews at the time of the birth of Jesus. Such a supernatural Messiah is shadowed forth in the Psalms of Solomon (xvii. and xviii.), and in the Book of Enoch (Chapter xlviii.). To such thought the Messiah was pre-existent in heaven waiting to be revealed to men, the prince of angels."

If we refer to the Psalms of Solomon (xvii. and xviii.) we certainly find there the Messianic ideal of the Pharisaic Jews about a century *before* the preaching of Jesus. The date of these Psalms is about 60 B.C.E. Dr. Kittel gives either 63-45 B.C.E. or 80-45 B.C.E.² Now the Messiah in these Psalms is David's descendant, and, of course, the King of Israel. All that he does is done with the help of God. In the words of Dr. M. R. James (Co-editor of the Psalms):—The Messiah "will reign in holiness and justice, not by force of arms. He is anointed *χριστός*, king and priest, but he is not divine. The new features in this description are mainly two:—

¹p. 184.

²Kautzsch's A. u. P. ii. p. 128.

(1) Messiah is a person. Excluding Daniel vii. as of disputed interpretation, we have this point plainly stated for the first time in the literature of Palestine (2) The Epithet *χριστός* is here first applied to him."¹ There is therefore no ground for Professor Gardner's statement that a *supernatural* Messiah is shadowed forth in the Psalms of Solomon.

If an expression in any of the Apocryphal or Pseudepigraphic books seems to point to a supernatural Messiah we must bear in mind Dr. Kittel's admirable comment "that the Psalms of Solomon and the LXX were not preserved by the Synagogue, but by the Christian Church, and that therefore it must not surprise us, if Christian influence even in the earliest times was brought to bear on this literature."²

This remark applies to the entire Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature. There seems, however, to be in Enoch xlviii. better material for speaking of a supernatural Messiah. Professor Gardner probably refers to the Ethiopic Enoch xlviii., in which the Son of Man is revealed upon the throne of his glory as the righteous judge both of the living and of the dead. This passage, which has been based on Daniel vii. 13, is the closest parallel, outside the New Testament, to the famous eschatological discourse in Matthew xxiv. 31-45. We shall return to the consideration of the Book of Enoch when we have

¹Hastings' D.B. iv. p. 163 and see *Psalms of Solomon* (Ryle and James) p. 141 f.

²Kautzsch's A. u. P. ii. p. 147.

discussed the meaning of the term "Son of Man" in Daniel, to which we must now turn our attention.

We have to consider the reference to Daniel (vii. 13): "I saw in the night vision, and behold there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto *a son of man*, and he came even to the ancient of days." There can be no doubt whatever that the author of this passage intended to *contrast* "the one like unto a son of man" with "the ancient of days." It was far from his mind to identify these two beings—as Dr. Drews suggests when he says: "the Son of Man is a super-human being representing the Deity."¹ In the first place we should ask ourselves, what is the meaning of this verse of Daniel? In order to answer this question we must read the entire chapter. We shall then see that the "Son of Man" stands contrasted with the four animal world-powers previously described. These symbolical shapes represent the cruel and bestial world-kingdoms, which are finally to be annihilated and replaced by the more humane world-empire or Kingdom of God on earth, peopled by the Saints of the Most High. This ideal is symbolized by the vision of the night, when the apocalyptic dreamer sees one like unto a son of man coming with the clouds of heaven. The dark night of the brutal world-powers will gradually give place to the dawning reign of a purified humanity. Ibn-Ezra points out that the meaning of the Son of Man is not the personal Messiah, but the

¹*Op. cit.* p. 41.

theocratic kingdom of God's holy people (*i.e.*, the Messianic kingdom; see verses 18 and 27 of this chapter of Daniel). It is of interest to note that this interpretation accords with that given by Dr. H. J. Holtzmann,¹ who observes that "Son of Man" in Daniel vii. 13, refers to the human Messianic empire, which is also humane, as opposed to the world-empires represented by the animal symbolical shapes described in chapter vii. Dr. Holtzmann also points out that "Son of Man" is really identical with "Man" (*cf.* Psalm viii. 5). Further, that the term "Son of Man" in the Hebrew Bible is always used to emphasize the enormous contrast between Man and God. "Son of Man" occurs in Ezekiel 89 times, and never bears the interpretation suggested by Dr. Drews and the scholars on whom he relies. It is, moreover, noteworthy that the New Testament term (*ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*) the *Son of Man*, which is generally explained to be a Messianic title, has no parallel at all in the Old Testament in this sense. Nevertheless, Baldensperger² regards it as one of the established results of modern criticism that the origin of the New Testament phrase is to be sought in Daniel vii. 13. This seems somewhat unlikely in view of the generally accepted interpretation of Daniel vii. 13:—"One like unto a Son of Man"—*i.e.*, one with human attributes in contrast to the ferocity of the wild beasts. "The beasts" mean kingdoms, so also "one like unto a Son of Man" refers to a kingdom. This interpre-

¹*Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, i., p. 83.

²*Theol. Rundschau*, p. 201ff.

tation is admitted also by Dr. Driver¹, by Dr. Drummond² and by Marti³, who denies that Daniel refers here to the Messiah at all.

It may be objected that if the Book of Daniel did not indicate the Messiah by the term "Son of Man," then in the pre-Christian age the two terms were not interchangeable. It is on this point that the whole crux of the discussion is concentrated. How did the Jewish readers of the Book of Daniel in the pre-Christian age interpret the expression, "Son of Man"? Drews⁴ points out that "in the picture language of Enoch (in the last decade before Christ) the Messiah, the 'Chosen One,' the 'Son of Man,' appears as a supernatural pre-existing being, who was hidden in God before the world was created, whose glory continues from eternity to eternity, and his might from generation to generation, in whom the spirit of wisdom and power dwells, who judges hidden things, punishes the wicked, but will save the holy and just (chapters xlv.-li.). Indeed, the Apocalypse of Esdras (the so-called Fourth Book of Esdras) expressly combats the opinion that the judgment of the world will come through another than God, and likewise describes the Messiah as a kind of 'Second God,' as the 'Son of God,' as the 'human incarnation of the Godhead,' (Ch. vi. l., sqq.)" Drews thinks that this sketch of these Apocalyptic

¹Commentary on Daniel, p. 102.

²*Jewish Messiah*, p. 229.

⁴*Op. cit.* p. 42.

³Kautzsch, ii. p. 436.

books justifies his view that the pre-Christian Messiah was a divine being¹.

Two questions arise in criticizing this theory: (1) What is the date of this apocalyptic teaching? and (2) Was it Jewish teaching? With reference to the first question, very difficult critical problems arise with respect to the date and authorship of the Book of Enoch. The sections referred to by Drews and Gardner belong to the first part of the book, which is known as the *Similitudes*. According to Dr. Charles this section of the Book of Enoch was written about 94-79 B.C.E., or 70-64 B.C.E. The Messianic doctrine of this part of the book is unique, not only as regards the other sections of Enoch, but also in Jewish literature as a whole. This enables us to answer our second question—that the Messianic picture of the *Similitudes* of Enoch did *not* represent the broad Jewish view. Dr. Charles² remarks: "Enoch's acceptance among Christians as a Messianic prophet was the ground of his rejection among the Jews..... This opposition to Enoch is unswervingly pursued in the Talmud, and his name and works are always studiously ignored."³

Dr. Charles infers that the Messianic title "Son of Man," which appears for the *first* time in Jewish literature in Enoch, is historically the source of the

¹This is really the view advocated by Gressmann, Gunkel and Gardner.

²Hastings' D. B. i. p. 708.

³See also Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, pp. 21-22, 101.

New Testament designation. This view is in direct conflict with Dr. Baldensperger's theory, which we have mentioned. There can be no doubt at all that the Gospels and some other books of the New Testament were very considerably influenced by the Book of Enoch. This at least suggests that the date of Enoch must be earlier than that of the Gospels—unless we can maintain with some show of reason that the Messianic passages in Enoch have been interpolated and coloured by New Testament ideas. Bruno Bauer (*Kritik d. Gesch.*, i., 402 [1841]) first called attention to the probability of the interpolation of the "Son of Man" passages in Enoch. Dr. Driver¹ warns us "that it can hardly be said to be *certain* that the Similitudes of Enoch are of pre-Christian origin."

With the modern Christian scholars the favourite chapter of the Similitudes is xlviii. This was referred to by Professor Gardner, and is invariably quoted by all the writers who deal with the pre-Christian Messianic idea. Let us turn to the chapter and judge for ourselves. (1) "And in that place I saw a spring of righteousness which was inexhaustible; around it were many springs of wisdom, and all the thirsty drank of them and were filled with wisdom, and had their abodes with the righteous and holy and elect. (2) And at that hour was that Son of Man named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits and his name (was named) before the Head of Days.

¹Hastings' D.B. iv. p. 583.

(3) Before the Sun and the signs (of the Zodiac) were created, before the stars of heaven were made, was his name named before the Lord of Spirits. (4) He will be a staff to the righteous on which they will support themselves and not fall; he will be the light of the Gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled of heart."

Can there be the least doubt that verse 3 has been interpolated? It is a direct contradiction to the previous verse, which speaks of the name of the Son of Man as being named *in the hour when* the thirsty drank of the springs of wisdom. The text continues: (5) "All who dwell on earth will fall down and bend the knee before him and will bless and praise and sing unto the Lord of Spirits. (6) For this reason was he chosen and hidden before Him (? God), before the creation of the world and for evermore. (7) And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous, for He preserveth the lot of the righteous, because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness, and have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits; for in His name will they be delivered and He is the avenger of their life. (8) In those days the Kings of the earth and the strong who possess the earth will be of downcast countenance because of the works of their hands, for on the day of their anxiety and trouble their souls will not be saved. (9) I will deliver them into the hands of Mine Elect; as straw in fire and as molten lead in water they shall burn in the presence

of the holy and sink in the presence of the righteous, so that no trace of them shall be found any more. (10) On the day of their trouble shall peace obtain on earth; they shall fall down before them and never rise up again. No one will be there to take them with his hands and to raise them: for they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His anointed. Blessed be the name of the Lord of Spirits."

Is it not perfectly clear that verses 6 and 7 are also an interpolation? First of all they disturb the narrative. Moreover verses 5 and 8 read very well if taken together. Verse 6 speaks of the pre-existence of the Son of Man, whereas in verse 2 he was *named* before God only *at the time* when the thirsty drank of the springs of wisdom (*i.e. after* the creation). Moreover, the interpolated verse 3 states that the name of the Son of Man was *named* before the creation, whereas verse 6 says that he was *chosen and hidden* before the creation. There is all the difference between pre-existence and being named. Pre-existence implies *actual being*, whilst being named may only denote the idea of future existence. Dr. Beer¹ states that the *name* of the Messiah was premundane according to the Rabbis. He refers to Weber, p. 345, and to other authorities. This comment refers to verse 3, but in his commentary on verse 6 he says that the Messiah had premundane *personal* pre-existence. He reminds us

¹Kautzsch, A. u. P. ii. p. 264, and see also Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 133 f.

that Dr. Dalman¹ considers this 6th verse to be a later addition to the text. Elsewhere² Dr. Beer declares that "Son of Man" is used as a Messianic title in Rabbinic literature. He refers to Dr. Baldensperger³ who asserts that this title was a pre-Christian Jewish apocalyptic designation of the Messiah. Dr. Baldensperger goes on to say that "even if the Similitudes (of Enoch) have their origin after the rise of Christianity, they nevertheless betray their Jewish stamp."

The Rabbinic literature to which this scholar refers is rather late, it is certainly *post*-Christian (Targum to Psalms ii. 7 and lxxx. 18). The Midrash Tanchuma, Numb. 17b. (ed. Buber) speaks of 7 premundane things or ideas, viz:—The Divine Throne, the Law, the Temple, the Patriarchs, Israel, the *Name* of the Messiah and Repentance.⁴ This tradition occurs again in Gen. Rab. i. 4, which distinguishes between the *actual* Divine Throne and Law and the *ideal* Temple, Patriarchs, and Name of the Messiah. In other words, Dr. Baldensperger is not justified in saying that the Rabbis taught the *personal* pre-mundane existence of the Messiah. The utmost that can be granted is that they believed that his name, as well as the Patriarchs, existed *ideally* in the mind of God, before He made the world. This is of fundamental importance in view of the fact that Schürer, Dr. Charles and other scholars

¹ *Worte Jesu*, pp. 107; 135.

² Kautzsch, A. u. P., ii. p. 232

³ *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 90.

⁴ Cf. T. B. Nedarim 39 b.

speak of the "Messiah as pre-existing according to Rabbinic teaching." It is not so.

We have still to show that verse 7 of Enoch xlvi. is a later addition. Dr. Dalman¹ urges with great force that this verse contains expressions which are found in the cviiith chapter (verses 8, 9 and 10), which is acknowledged to be a post-Christian interpolation. In several other respects, certain parts of chapter xlvi. seem to be out of place and to contradict the general tendency of the previous part of the book. One or two instances will make this clear. The "Son of Man" is even applied in the Similitudes, (Chapter lxxi.) to Enoch, and therefore the term is not to be understood as pointing to a "supernatural Messiah." Dr. Bousset has suggested that all the "Son of Man" passages in the second and third Similitudes (Chapters xlv.-lxix.) are to be considered to be Christian interpolations.² In chapter xlv. the Messiah is called the "Elect One"; whilst in chapter xlvi. he is called "Son of Man" and "the Anointed." In chapters xxxix. 6 f; xlvi. 1., the Messiah has only a heavenly pre-existence, and therefore xlvi. 6, with its idea of pre-existence prior to the creation, contradicts the earlier description.

Since there is considerable doubt as to the genuineness of these Messianic passages, we are hardly entitled to say with Mr. Montefiore, "but, by the age of Jesus there is some evidence to show

¹Op. cit. p. 135.

²*Jesu Predigt*, 1892, p. 106.

that, in some quarters and in some minds, the conception of the purely human Messiah had been, to some extent, transcended. Though less than and distinct from God, he was conceived by some as more divine than the ordinary man." (Jowett Lectures, 1910, p. 127). Dr. Drews would agree with this view, but it is really unfounded, inasmuch as the only source of contemporary information (Enoch) is considered to be post-Christian, as far as its Messianic references are concerned. If, however, we were to assume that the Similitudes of Enoch have not been subjected to post-Christian interpolations, even so it would be useless to refer to the "Heavenly Son of Man" of this apocalyptic book as a Messianic title in the age of Jesus. The associates of Jesus looked upon him as a mere man; they knew his mother, and referred to his father as the carpenter. The conception of a Heavenly Son of Man could by no means be present to the minds of Jesus' auditors. "How was one who was now walking upon earth to come from heaven? He would have needed first to be translated thither. One who had died or had been rapt away from earth might be brought back to earth again in this way, or a being who had never before been upon earth, might be conceived as descending thither." This criticism by Dr. Dalman is quite to the point and disposes of the imagined testimony offered by the Book of Enoch.

Thus far we see that there is no positive evidence whatsoever for regarding the term "Son of Man" as a title of the Messiah in the pre-Christian age. Dr.

Lietzmann argues with considerable force that "Jesus never applied to himself the title "Son of Man" at all, because it does not exist in Aramaic, and upon linguistic grounds cannot exist."¹ True it is that the Aramaic *Bar Nasha* means literally "the Son of Man"; but in actual usage it means simply *man*, so that the distinction made in the Greek between "the man" and "the Son of Man" could not have existed in Aramaic, inasmuch as both expressions are expressed by the same term, *Bar Nasha*. The title "Son of Man" as applied to the Messiah, comes from the Greek, and is quite un-Jewish. The Gospel tradition which attributes to Jesus the use of this title is later than Jesus. Dr. Lietzmann supports this conclusion by the following arguments:— (1) The fact that the "Son of Man" is unknown to Paul; (2) its absence likewise from the literature of the sub-apostolic ages, the Didache, Clement, Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, etc. He urges also that "the Son of Man" was no accepted Messianic title in the age of Jesus. Wellhausen agrees with Lietzmann as against Dalman, Schmiedel and Gunkel,² who think that there was an esoteric meaning underlying the term, which would be known to the initiated, but not to those "without." The very interesting article on "Son of Man," by Canon Driver, in Hastings' D.B. gives a good summary of the opinions held by some of the leading authorities.

¹ *Der Menschensohn*, 1896, p. 85.

² Bousset agrees with Gunkel's conclusions (see *Die Religion*, p. 306.).

Dr. Charles thinks that Son of Man as a Messianic title occurs in the Talmud (Jer. Taanith ii. 1, 65b). "Abbahu said: If a man says to thee—I am God, he lies; I am the Son of Man—he will at last repent it; I ascend to heaven—if he said it, he will not prove it." The reference, however, is clearly to the story of the Gospel and does not permit us to recognize in the term "the Son of Man" a Messianic title as usually understood by the Jews of the first century, C.E.

The term "Bar Nash" in the meaning of man occurs frequently in the Rabbinic literature (*e.g.*, T. J. Taanith ii., 65a, T. B. Meila 20b). The Talmud has the term "Bar Niphle" (בר נפלי) "Son of the Cloud" as a Messianic title (see T. B. Synhedrin 96b), although in this connection the "Cloud" of Daniel vii. 13, is not mentioned; but the Hebrew root נפל (to fall) is suggested by the Rabbi who quoted Amos ix., 11, in support of his use of this name. The passage is as follows:—Rabbi Nachman asked Rabbi Isaac, 'Hast thou heard when Bar Niphle will come?' Rabbi Isaac replied: 'Who is this Bar Niphle?' Rabbi Nachman said that it was (the name of) the Messiah. Whereupon Rabbi Isaac exclaimed: 'Dost thou call the Messiah Bar Niphle?' 'Yes,' Rabbi Nachman replied, as it is said: "I will raise up (the tabernacle of David) that is *fallen*." This discussion is much later than the age of Jesus and gives no clue as to the Messianic interpretation of Daniel vii. in the first century. It can be safely asserted that in the Talmud and the Targumim the frequently recurring "Bar Nasha" does not have any

other meaning except man; and that there is not the least reference to the Messiah.

Dr. Drews drew attention to the Messianic description given by the Fourth Book of Esdras in support of his views. This book is wholly inadmissible as evidence for the *pre-Christian* teaching concerning the Messiah, inasmuch as it is later than the destruction of Jerusalem, and was probably written in the reign of Domitian (81-96 C.E.). Moreover, the book has been subjected to Christian interpolations; the name of Jesus having been inserted in vii. 28.

We shall now gather up our threads by pointing out that the pre-Christian Messianic idea of Israel knows nothing of a Messiah, who was described as a "Son of Man coming with (or from) the Clouds." The pre-existent divine Messiah is also quite foreign to the Palestinian Jewish thought of this period. We shall return to this point when we discuss the Messianic ideas of the New Testament.

We have now finally to indicate very briefly the Jewish interpretation of the Messianic idea in the first century. We shall not find it in the New Testament, which identifies the Messiah with the *only* Son of God. Nor can we refer to the isolated use of "Son of Man" as a Messianic title, which occurs in the Similitudes of Enoch. In the Psalms of Solomon (xvii.) we meet with the hope of the coming of the Messiah of the seed of David, whose rule is moral and spiritual. He is human, but pure from sin (xvii. 41). The Messianic kingdom is of a temporal kind, although the moral

power of its ruler is all sufficient to overcome evil—"He shall convict the sinners in the thoughts of their hearts" (xvii. 27). In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Messiah is a man, meek and righteous and without sin (Test. Judah xxiv. 1-3), the spirit of understanding and sanctification will rest upon him (Test. Levi xviii. 7). He is to establish a new priesthood (*ibid.* viii. 14), to be a prophet of the Most High (*ibid.* viii. 15), and shall be King over all the nation (Test. Reub. vi. 11). He shall usher in the reign of peace (Test. Sim. vi. 4), and sin shall disappear from the earth (Test. Levi xviii. 9). The Kingdom of Messiah will be a universal kingdom, embracing the Gentiles (Test. Sim. vi. 5), who shall be multiplied in the knowledge (of God) upon the earth (Test. Levi xviii. 9).

The literature quoted is Palestinian in origin, and belongs to the pre-Christian age. In Philo of Alexandria, we have a contemporary of Jesus who speaks of the Messianic age as being heralded by "a *man* leading a host and warring furiously, who will subdue great nations; God sending that assistance which is suitable for pious men" ("De Praemiis et Poenis" 16. Mangey ii. 423). Philo looks forward to the rule of universal peace when all men will form a temple of God.¹ In the third book of the Sibylline Oracles we have another Messianic

¹We shall return to this point also when we discuss the Messianic idea in Philo's writings. It must suffice to say at this juncture that the Messiah of Philo is not an *ordinary* man, but the Logos.

reference: "From the rising of the sun God will send a king, who will cause the evil war to cease throughout the world; some will be slain, others will make a covenant with him. All this will he do in accordance with the good will of the great God and not according to his own counsel." (iii. 652 f.)

The Jewish liturgy has its Messianic prayer in the Shemoneh Esreh: "Speedily cause the offspring of David, thy servant, to flourish and let his horn be exalted by thy salvation, because we wait for thy salvation all the day long." This was originally part of the prayer for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and constituted the 15th Benediction (see Tosephta, Berachoth iii. 25). There was also a prayer for the Redeemer or Messiah, in the first Benediction, which is earlier than the first century. The second Benediction of the Shemoneh Esreh refers to the resurrection of the dead, but this is equivalent to a reference to the Messiah (see Mishna, Synhedrin x., 1-3). We must also not forget that the liturgy included several passages from the Old Testament which had a Messianic tendency. Finally, let us bear in mind that the first century of the common era witnessed the futile attempts of many brave *men* to play the Messianic rôle; such men included Judas the Galilean; Jesus the Galilean; Theudas, and a pretender called "the Egyptian." In no case was there any contemporary belief in a miraculous birth or heavenly descent of these Messianic claimants. The Jewish Messiah is to be a man and not a god or man-god.

LITERATURE.

On *Interpolation in Enoch*, see Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, p. 241 f.

On *Son of Man* see in addition to the authorities quoted, Enc. Bib. iv. *sub voc.*; Friedlander, *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 34 for reference to Schweitzer. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie* pp. 201 ff. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im Neuen Testamentlichen Zeitalter*, p. 306, gives a good bibliography. See also Hastings' D.C.G., ii. *sub voc.*

On *Messianic Idea in Psalms of Solomon* see Dr. Charles in Hastings' D.B. i. p. 744, and compare also D.B. iv., 163 and v. p. 299.

NOTE TO PAGE 21.

In the Book of Ecclesiasticus (xxiv. 3 f.) Wisdom declares : "I came forth from the mouth of the Most High and like a *mist* I covered the earth. I had my dwelling in the highest and my throne was on the pillar of *cloud*." The Greek word for mist is *ὄμιχλη* which represents the Hebrew *ענן* (*cloud*) cf. xliii. 22. The *mist* *מִט* is mentioned in the story of the creation (Gen. ii. 6). The Targum of Onkelos *in loc.* has *עננא* (*cloud*) for *מִט*. In LXX of Job xxxvi. 27 (*מִט*) we have *εἰς νεφέλην*. *Bar Niphle* is the "Son of a Mist" or the "Son of a Cloud" and is probably to be identified with Wisdom enthroned upon the Pillar of Cloud. The "*Wisdom*" of Ecclesiasticus and of the Book of Wisdom became (as we shall see) the Logos of Philo who also identifies the Pillar of *Cloud* with the Logos (Quis Rer. D. H., 42. i. M. 501 f.).

CHAPTER II.

HELLENISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

ALEXANDER the Great, disciple of Aristotle and lover of Homer, not only conquered the civilized world of his day, but he also hellenized it for all time. The triumph of Greek culture followed his remarkable victories. This culture is known as Hellenism. We have to try to understand the meaning and significance of this term. When Philip of Macedonia conquered Athens, Thebes and their allied States in 338 B.C.E. at Chaeronea, it was believed by the Greeks of that age that the end of Hellas was at hand. Instead of this view, it would be historically more correct to say that the dawn of Hellenism had only just begun. What, then, is this Hellenism?

It stands for the dissolution of racial, tribal or national particularism. The East was to give to, as well as take from, the West. Alexander's marriage with a Persian princess at Susa 324 B.C.E. exemplifies this great fact. Then again, Hellenism meant the destruction of the narrow local politics of the Greek City States. The once independent, but small cities are now merged into large monarchies. Hellenism had its constructive side as well as its destructive side. If

Alexander knew how to pull down, he also knew how to build up. Hellenism implies the universal spread of Greek culture, philosophy, ethics, language and religion.

In its policy of give and take, or compromise, Hellenism absorbed much of the culture and religion of the various peoples it conquered. "Wherever Alexander went, he paid reverence to the local deities. The gods of Greece followed him to Susa and Babylon, and the teeming brood of the Nile—Serapis, Isis, Osiris and the rest soon learned the Greek tongue and found a home wherever Hellenism went."¹

This last aspect of Hellenism is admirably summed up in the word "Toleration." Hellenism was able to succeed whenever it understood how to be tolerant to the religion of the people whom it vanquished. The Romans also early learnt this lesson, and reaped the reward which it invariably bestows.

One of the most striking features of Hellenism is the worship of the King or Ruler, who is looked upon as a Divine Being. He is regarded as an incarnation of the God-head. Alexander the Great was the first monarch who was worshipped by the Greeks.² In later times this form of State religion flourished in all the Hellenistic kingdoms, and passed on with the march of Hellenism to Rome, where, from the time of Augustus, divine honour was ascribed to the genius of the Emperor. Most of the Emperors of the first century C.E. did not dare to claim for themselves

¹Studia Biblica, iv. p. 2.

²Plutarch, *Alexander*, xxviii.

in Rome the title of "God." Only after their death were they elevated to full divinity, and then they received the title "Divus." The Senate decreed on whom this Apotheosis (or Consecration) was to be bestowed, and reserved the right of withholding the honour in exceptional cases; this man-god cult is of fundamental significance in the history of religions in the Hellenistic age, i.e., from 333 B.C.E. to about the fourth century C.E. In Hellenistic circles this idea of divine humanity was common and widespread, not merely in the case of mythical characters, but also in the case of historical personages of distinction, such as the founders of cities and colonies, rulers and teachers. Even before the rise of Hellenism the Egyptian King had long been regarded by his subjects as an incarnation of the Deity;¹ he was addressed by the name of Horus, the mighty and gracious God. Sacrifices were offered to the king, prayers were addressed to him, and it was believed that he himself answered the prayers or laid the petitions before the Supreme Heavenly Deities, who were his own ancestors. In fact, the Pharaohs actually offered their own prayers to themselves, or rather, to the Ka, or Divine Genius incarnate within themselves.²

In Babylonia and Assyria the kings were believed originally to be the specially favoured servants of the Gods. From the time of Sargon I, they held themselves to be emanations of the God-head.³ Some kings

¹Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Part ii., p. 12, and see E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i., §223, p. 267.

²Hastings' D.B., v. pp. 187; 197.

³See H. Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, pp. 307 ff.

prefixed to their names the sign for God (in Sumerian it was *Dingir*, in Babylonian, *Ilu*). They built temples to their own honour, set up their statues in the sanctuaries, and allowed sacrifices to be offered to their Genius. But the belief in the Divine descent and Divine nature of kings was not generally widespread in the Orient *before* the age of Alexander the Great. After he had conquered the Persian and Egyptian Empires, he was greeted as a Son of God by the priests of Zeus-Ammon in the famous temple in the Egyptian oasis.¹ The divine sonship attributed to Alexander was imitated by the inheritors of his vast empire, especially in Syria, Pergamum,² and later, in Rome. In the East there was no hesitation in worshipping, with public rites, the living king as a god, or as an incarnation of the God-head. Was it not natural that the poor peasants should look upon the king as a god, because in times of famine he provided food ; in times of pestilence he sent relief to the victims ; and in times of invasion he led the forces of the country to repel the invader ? Did not the king administer justice, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked ? Surely, these were godly acts, and the king must therefore be a god,—so, at least, the people thought. It has been suggested that the worship of Alexander as a god was due to Egyptian influence, but this is most unlikely. The Egyptian king was bound by a strange ritual that could never appeal

¹Plutarch, *Alexander*, xxvii. ²Hastings' D. B. iii. p. 750.

to a Greek,¹ and the fact that it was in the oasis temple of Zeus-Ammon that Alexander was recognized as divine, points rather to a Greek origin, because Ammon was not a genuine Egyptian God, but an imported Greek Deity. The priests declared that Alexander was the son of Zeus, the God of the Greeks. Moreover, the cult of Alexander was observed in Greek communities, even before his visit to the temple of Zeus-Ammon. The Greeks were undoubtedly the originators of this Divine King Worship. In the eleven years that elapsed from the crossings of the Hellespont until his death in 323 B.C., a great change had taken place in the attitude of the Greeks towards him. His mighty victory over the Persians and the freedom which this victory brought to the important Greek communities in Asia Minor led the grateful Greeks of these parts to see in him their Saviour, their God.

Moreover, Alexander founded many new cities, such as Priene, Alexandria, Magnesia, and so on. In these cities Hellenism alone flourished, and in return he was gladly acclaimed their Saviour-God. We read in the inscriptions how the union of Ionian States consecrated to him a Grove (τέμενος) where games were to be celebrated annually. In the Holy Place in the Grove there stood an altar dedicated to Alexander, where sacrifices were offered. He was, in fact, the god of the place. It was especially the Pan-Hellenist who was filled with admiration for the youthful warrior who had,

¹Cf. Diodorus Siculus, i. 70 for the daily life of the Egyptian king.

at last, effected the long desired overthrow of the Persian dominion, the great foe to Pan-Hellenism. In 323 B.C.E., the year of Alexander's death, his cult had spread so widely, even in Greek cities in Europe, that embassies were sent from Greece to Babylon to participate in the religious festivals held in his honour.¹ As King of Macedonia, Alexander would never have been able to assume divine honours, but as ruler of the world, he needed a sanction which divinity alone could supply. He did not refuse these divine honours, because they helped him to consolidate his empire. To appreciate the motives which led the grateful Greeks to deify their human redeemer, it is necessary to enquire into the nature of the Greek religion.

This religion did not know a God who created the world, man and all things. The Greek gods do not therefore appeal to men in the same way as the God of the Old Testament appeals to the Jew and Christian, as the Creator to His Creation, the Father to His children. The Greek deities are beings who were all powerful; but they have proceeded from the same source as humanity, therefore the connections between the gods and man are manifold. The Greek god is not only born like a man, not only has he a birthday which is celebrated as his annual festival, but he can have intercourse with virgins or women of earth, and can beget beautiful children, who are divine as well as human,—God-men. Moreover, the god had to die,

¹Cf. Arrian, vii., 14, 10; vii, 15, i. ff and vii. 27, 3 for the legend of Alexander's descent from a God.

just like ordinary human beings. Hesiod believed that the men of the first age became the just and beneficent Dæmons, passing invisibly over the earth, dispensing rewards, retributions and good fortune.¹ A man after death might also become a god, and the Greeks were fond of thinking that the strong and mighty heroes of old became gods when their earthly careers were finished. This religious interpretation of hero-worship led the powerful families in Greek lands to claim descent from the Gods or Heroes, hence the kings naturally, would claim divine descent.² The cult of heroes did much to popularize these ideas. It sometimes happened that a man became a hero ; then he was worshipped as such, and later he was elevated to Olympus as a god, in whose honour sacrifices were brought. Now the founders of towns or of colonies were rewarded invariably by the bestowal of the rights associated with hero-worship. These cults were of course, strictly local. Such customs are known to have obtained in Greece, as early as the seventh century B.C.E.

In Athens, the victors of the Battle of Marathon were accounted heroes, and were accorded the full worship belonging to the hero-cult.³ The sanctuary devoted to the hero was generally situated in the market place. After the Peloponnesian War, not only were these honours bestowed on the brave dead, but also on the living benefactors to the State. At Delphi a

¹ *Works and Days*, 121 f. This passage is generally held to be the *locus classicus* on the early Greek notions of δαίμονες.

² See Frazer, *The Magic Art*, ii. p. 177 f.

³ Pausanias, i. xxxii. 4, and see Farnell, *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, p. 82.

statue in honour of Lysander of Sparta was erected in the sanctuary because he had defeated the Athenians.¹ The placing of a statue of a human being in a sanctuary meant more to the Greek than we are likely to suppose. The sanctuary was the abode of the gods, and the placing therein of the statue of a human being implied that the latter was henceforth associated with the gods, and worthy of being accounted a divine being. The step to full divinity was not far off. Lysander was not only worshipped at Delphi, but at many other places in Asia Minor. Altars were erected in his honour, and a special festival, the Lysandria, was instituted to perpetuate his cult.

In 353 B.C.E. the ruler of Heraclea declared that he was a son of Zeus, and demanded the honours and worship of a "Son of God." Dionysius of Syracuse, about the same time, was revered as a son of Apollo. Such divine honours were not only bestowed by the Greeks on their rulers, but disciples treated their teachers in the same way. In the fifth century B.C.E. the Sicilian, Empedocles, was worshipped as a god by his fellow-citizens.² It was said of Pythagoras that his venerable appearance was as stimulating as if Apollo had been in the midst of his disciples. He was spoken of as a son of this god.³ There was a good reason for

¹Plutarch, *Lysander*, xviii., writes :-[Lysander] "was the first of the Greeks... to whom altars were erected by several cities, and sacrifices offered, as to a god."

²Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. Phil.* viii. 70, quoted by Frazer, G.B., ii., p. 390.

³According to Diogenes Laertius, *ibid.*, viii. 4. Pythagoras claimed to be a son of Mercury.

this cult in the Greek Schools, which were, to all intents and purposes, the religious centres of the cultured people.

Plato erected a temple of the Muses in the Grove of the Academy. His successor had statues of the Muses placed in the temple, and later on, one of Plato himself was added. This was due to the fact that Plato was regarded as the founder of the Academy, and as such, he was revered as the hero of the institution, and his statue became the centre of a pious cult. Every year, on Apollo's birthday, Plato's birthday was also celebrated. His nephew declared that the philosopher was the son of Apollo.¹ This was not an isolated case. The origin of this phenomenon is to be sought in the idea cherished by the Greeks, that a genuinely good and great man must be possessed of a divine spirit. Moreover, the Greeks believed that every man was composed of elements human and divine.² The Greek discerned the divinity in such great and good men as readily as he saw it in the beauties of Nature. The worship or cult of Jesus as Son of God, or as part of the God-head, offers an interesting analogy to this feature of Hellenism. We must remember that the belief in the natural descent from a Divine Father, as well as the custom of paying divine honours to the living and dead heroes, kings or teachers, have their origin in the religious spirit of the Greeks. Originally the Greek people were disposed to recognize the divinity of a *dead* ruler only, but in course

¹Diogenes Laertius, *ibid.*, iii. 1.

²Adam, *Vitality of Platonism*, pp. 133 ff.

of time the living ruler was also deified. The Alexander cult was the original form for all kinds of king-worship in Hellenistic circles.¹ The difference between the original and the copies lies in the development from the voluntary worship of the ruler to the State institution which makes the cult obligatory.

Ptolemy I (308 B.C.E.), who succeeded Alexander as ruler of Egypt, was accorded divine honours in his city of Ptolemais, which he founded. In 307 B.C.E. the Athenians declared Demetrius Poliorcetes and his father Antigonus, to be Saviour-Gods (Sōtēres), because the former had secured the freedom of Athens from Macedonian supremacy.² An altar was erected in their honour, and a special priest was appointed to attend to their sacrifices.

The cult of hero, king, or teacher in whom the divinity was believed to dwell is entirely alien to Hebraic thought and sentiment. To believe that a man could become a God or a Son of God, or that a God could become a man was an impossible task for the Jewish mind. Man is separated from God by an impassable gulf. If then, in a cult connected with Judaism, we find that divine honours are paid to a human being, we can be quite sure that this worship of a "man-God" is an imported element, which arose in a Greek culture circle. It is only in Hellenism where we find this form of worship. It is the basis of Mythology

¹See Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie*, 1423, 1433.

²Frazer, *The Magic Art*, i. p. 390 f., and Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 10-13, cf. Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 24.

which is entirely opposed to the Judaism of the prophets.¹ The Jews readily recognized the spiritual greatness of their prophets, poets, philosophers and teachers; and they lovingly remembered the unselfish services rendered to their country or people, but they did not worship the good men. The Maccabean triumph has its annual celebration, but the Maccabees are not deified. The great men, Abraham, Moses, Isaiah, are not forgotten, but they are not worshipped. To consider them divine would be contrary to Jewish sentiment. They were men and not angels, prophets and not gods, but merely the servants of the One God. They were born as other men, without Incarnation, or Virgin-birth. When they died there was no Apotheosis. The basic ideas underlying the Hellenistic worship of the great and good, continued for many centuries to exercise an ever-increasing influence in the history of religion. These ideas have survived to our own day, and unfortunately they seem likely to obtain for many a day to come.

In the Greek world there were various grades of religion. There was the religion of the philosophers, tending in some schools of thought towards belief in a supreme God. Then there was the religion of the poets and artists, which found expression in the æsthetic worship of an assembly of deities, such as Zeus, Apollo, Venus, etc.² These deities were held to be the personified forces of Nature. The Homeric gods and

¹ See Hermann Cohen's *Religion und Sittlichkeit*, in *Jarhbuch für jüd. Gesch. u. Lit.* (1907), pp. 125, 134, 136 and 140.

² Cf. Professor Percy Gardner's *Growth of Christianity*, p. 89.

goddesses had been allegorized in this wise by Euhe-merus and his school. Finally, there was the popular religion of the people. This was a materialistic and superstitious worship, believing in malignant gods, demons, devils, also in men-gods and god-men. Then the people also believed in spells, omens, faith-cures. There was also the celebration of the Mysteries in which abominable rites were practised.

The Greeks took their gods with them wherever they went. The cults which best survived in Asia Minor were those which were akin to the Oriental heathen religions. For at least a century before the birth of Christianity, Paganism among the Greeks was really worn out. It was powerless to resist the competition offered by the Oriental creeds of Isis, Mithras, Adonis, and Sabazius. The Greek gods were dead and were easily replaced by the new-comers. Later, when Christianity arose, it was no longer Greek Heathenism that had to be overcome, but Oriental Mysticism tinged by Hellenism. It is an undoubted fact that Christianity borrowed largely from the various local cults of Greece and Asia Minor. The Saint venerated by the Church was very often a local heathen deity.¹ Christmas Day was originally the birthday of the Sun-God. Again, as we shall see, the Sacraments of the Christian Church, such as Baptism and Holy Communion, have their origin in the worship of the heathen cults of Hellenism.²

European civilization of to-day is connected with

¹See Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, p. 76.

²Cf. Trede, *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche*, i. p. 15.

Hellenism through two channels: (a) through the hellenization of the Roman Empire, and (b) through the hellenization of Christianity.¹ The former process began to take place soon after the Second Punic war. Then the Romans came into contact with the Greeks in the East, with the result that Hellenism soon found a safe home in Rome. When Christianity in the first century (c.e.) began to grow into a world-power, its field of development coincided with the world of Hellenism. Hence the important fact that the language of Hellenism—the Koinê—became also the language of the Early Church. To return to the process whereby the Roman world was hellenized; we must remember that the Romans had an early legend telling them that Rome had been founded by Greek Trojans, so that the Romans claimed to be descendants of Aeneas. It did not take very long before the Romans borrowed the Hellenistic rite of the apotheosis of living men, and thereby we are a step nearer to the cult of the leader or ruler. This first took place in the Macedonian War. Philip V. of Macedonia was defeated by the Roman, T. Quinctius Flaminius, who in the name of the Roman Senate proclaimed the freedom of the Greek City States at the Isthmian and Olympic Games in 196 B.C.E. The people greeted him as their saviour and redeemer, and the city of Chalkis in Eubœa decreed that divine honours should be paid to him.²

¹For this analysis, as well as for much else in this book, I am indebted to Professor Adolph Bauer's *Vom Griechentum zum Christentum*, pp. 74 ff.

²Cf. Plutarch, *Titus*, xvi.

In the first century B.C.E. it was the custom of the Greek cities to proclaim the Roman Chief Magistrates as gods, and to institute games in their honour, even the Senate was declared to be divine. When men like Sulla, Pompey and Cæsar became sole leaders, the process developed rapidly. The whole of the Greek East was at their mercy, and the fear and reverence inspired by their power increased in proportion. At Athens Sulla was greeted as a god. Pompey was described as a saviour, and Cæsar claimed to be a direct descendant of Aeneas, through the family of Julius to which he belonged.¹ In an inscription found at Ephesus he is described as the "incarnated God, Son of Ares and descendant of Aprodite."² The Roman Senate had a statue erected for the "half-divine" Cæsar. It was set up in the Temple of Jupiter opposite the statue of the god. After his victory at Munda he was called the "invincible god." His death at the hands of Brutus and Cassius was due to the fear that he would not only allow divine honours to be paid to him, but that he intended to become king. After his death additional honours, affirming his full divinity, were paid to his memory. On the spot where his body was burned a temple was erected.

In 41 B.C.E. Antony entered the city of Ephesus as Dionysus.³ The victory of Actium (31 B.C.E.) brought

¹For authorities see Roscher, *Lexikon*, art. *Kaiserkultus*, 903 f.

²Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (3rd. ed.) p. 258 for inscription in Greek.

³See Plutarch, *Antony*, xxiv., who also compares the meeting between Cleopatra and Antony with a meeting between Venus and Dionysus (*ibid.* xxvi.).

peace to the Hellenistic world. This gift of Augustus was welcomed as a gospel (*evangel*). He also was looked upon as a saviour god. Soon after the marriage of his mother Atia, rumour said that she had been at night in the temple of Apollo on the occasion of the god's festival. The god, in the form of a serpent, came to the woman while she slept, and in the course of a year Augustus was born. He was therefore called "the son of Apollo."¹ Legend said that a few months before his birth, a sign had been given in Rome that Nature was about to present a king to the Romans. To prevent this, the Senate decreed that any child born that year should not be nurtured. This cruel edict was naturally evaded, and Augustus was born and fed as was becoming. This legend reminds us of the attempt of Herod to destroy the supposed Messiah, and resulted in the tale of the slaughter of the Babes of Bethlehem.

In the Greek Orient Augustus allowed divine honours to be shown to him. He was spoken of as God and the Son of God. In a Greek inscription from Egypt he is actually called "God of God."² His birthday is spoken of as the "birthday of the God." Two inscriptions clearly show us that the divine worship of Augustus involved the use of expressions similar to those which appear in the Gospels. One inscription from Halicarnassus speaks in this wise:—"Since the Eternal and Immortal Power which generated the Universe has

¹Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 94 ; Dio Cassius, xlv. 1, 2.

²Deissmann, *op. cit.* pp. 279, 288 f. and Roscher, *ibid.*, 904 ff.

bestowed on humanity as its highest good in these our happy days, Cæsar Augustus, the father of his native town, the divine Roma, even Father Zeus and the Saviour of the entire human race, for the sake of which Providence has not only heard all prayers but granted more than was asked for—for peace is on earth and on the sea; the towns flourish under the excellent laws in peace and harmony, all that is good is active and produces rich fruit, and the future is full of good hopes. All men rejoice in the prosperity of the present time.”¹ In the next inscription, which is dated 9 B.C.E., and comes from Asia Minor, we read that the birthday of Augustus was to be observed in future as New Year’s Day.² It declares that Providence, which rules all things in our lives, is to be thanked for sending Augustus. “He has been sent to us and to all who come after us as a Saviour. He has terminated wars, set all things in order, . . . and has surpassed all previous benefactors. The birthday of the God was the dawn of a gospel (*evangel*) for the world.” Just as in Luke (ii. 10) we find the birth of Jesus as a Saviour described as good tidings or Gospel, so in the inscription of the God Augustus we have the *identical* terms.³

Kyrios (Lord), so often used as a title of Jesus, was a common cult-word of Hellenism, and was also used as a term to express the divine nature of the emperor.⁴

¹See Pfeiderer, *Early Christian Conception of Christ*, p. 149, and Jeremias, *Babylonisches im N. T.*, p. 58.

²Deissmann, *op. cit.* pp. 259, 279, and cf. the version in Soltau, *Birth of Jesus Christ*, E. T., p. 71.

³Cf. for similar inscriptions, Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

⁴See Roscher, s.v. *Kyrios*, 1764.

Originally, Jesus was not looked upon as a Kyrios, Lord, or God; but when Christianity had to fight for her place among the Greek religions, it adopted such terms as "*Kyrios*," "*Soter*," or "*Son of God*," in order to justify the claim that the cult of Jesus was a religion worthy of acceptance by educated Greeks. Without the apotheosis of Jesus, Christianity would never have made headway in Greek lands. Deissmann has taught us that it was not the moral teaching of the man Jesus that conquered the Hellenistic world, but it was rather the cult of the God Jesus that gained such widespread acceptance and popularity.

In Hellenism metaphysical speculations meant that which science means to us to-day. A number of technical words which regulate and shorten the process of thinking had made their way into the Hellenistic schools. Such words as Logos, Pneuma, Emanation and Hypostasis were in general use. Hellenism in course of time affected also the Jews of the Diaspora, as well as the Jews of Palestine. The city of Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great, became the headquarters of the Hellenistic Jews. Here and elsewhere the Jews spoke Greek, and translated their Scriptures into this language. Not only did the Jew speak like a Greek, but he also thought like a Greek. Even in Palestine itself there were Hellenistic Jews who prayed in Greek.¹ The European Jew of to-day has paid tribute to Hellenism. He speaks of the "Synagogue," which was an ordinary Greek word meaning a religious meeting.

¹Acts vi. 9 and T. J. Sota vii. 1, 21b.

Some of the names of the books of the Bible are also Greek, such as Genesis and Exodus. The term Bible itself is a good illustration. The words Liturgy and Apostle illustrate how every-day speech has been influenced by the Greek language. Such words as epiphany, mystery, parousia, paraclete, evangel and so forth have all come to us from the Koinê, or colloquial language of Hellenism.¹ The Greeks had allegorized Homer, and the Jews followed suit by allegorizing the Bible. There is hardly a page of the Talmud or Midrash which does not contain some word of Greek.² Palestine was not influenced to the same extent as the Diaspora, where the Jews were freed from the national and traditional bonds which bound the Palestinian Jew. The result was that Hellenistic Judaism became more Greek and less Jewish. Hence the rise of the apochryphal and pseud-epigraphic literature which was mostly written or preserved in Greek. We shall return to the consideration of the Hellenistic Jewish literature such as the LXX, the Greek Book of Wisdom, and Philo. In the doctrine of God which Philo elaborates in his commentaries on the Old Testament, he lays great stress on the transcendental nature of the Deity, and ignores the Old Testament conception of God's ceaseless activity in this world. The Old Testament conception of God is really absent from Philo's philosophy,³ for his God is to all intents and

¹Deissmann, *op. cit.* 281 ff. (and see *Index*).

²The Greek words in Rabbinical literature have been discussed by Krauss in his "*Lehnwörter*."

³Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 159.

purposes the Θεός of Plato. Philo is able to set aside the Biblical description of God by means of his system of allegory. His transcendental Deity precludes the idea of a Divine Creation, as well as of a Divine Providence. Such teaching entirely separates God from man and the world, and deprives morality of its best religious sanction, which tells us that man must imitate God by walking with Him and ever seeking Him. Philo falls back on the Stoic doctrine of the Immanence of God, inasmuch as he says that the existence of all things is summed up in God, who is the place of the world.¹ God is also identified by Philo with the "Efficient Cause" of the Stoics, so that He is the Architect of the Universe, but *not* the Creator who actually fashions it. Hence the need of a creative cosmic force—the Logos,² who is the mediator between God and man.³

This idea of a creating Logos, who is also the mediator between God and the world, is un-Jewish, and has arisen on Hellenistic soil. We find in Philo many other influences of Hellenism, such as the idea of God's begetting by a human mother, or God's begetting by a virgin; or again, distinctions in the God-head, or the idea that the Logos is the Son of God and even a second God.⁴ Philo's Logos involves the following ideas:—a God-Man, a Son of God who is the Creator, a mediating representative of the race, a sinless High Priest, a first Adam contrasted with the

¹ *De Somn.* I. II., Mi., 630 ; C.W., iii. p. 203. §63.

² *De Cherub.* 35, Mi., 161 ; C.W., i. p. 197. §125.

³ *Quis rer. div. h.*, 42 Mi. 501 ; C.W. iii. p. 39. §205.

⁴ *De Somn.* I. 39 and 41. Mi. 655-6., C. W. ii. p. 235ff. §§229ff.

second Adam. In other words, we have practically the entire Christology of the New Testament foreshadowed by Philo's Logos. We shall deal with this subject in detail in the course of our investigation. It will not therefore surprise us to find that the famous Church historian, Eusebius, speaks of Philo as the earliest of the Christian Fathers. Philo was read and studied by the great writers of the Early Church, and in many instances (e.g. Eusebius and Ambrose) we find large sections of his teaching reproduced by Christian authors.¹

From the start the supreme interest of Christianity was the nature of the person of Jesus, and his relation to God. This question could not be discussed in any city where Hellenism obtained without the use of Greek terminology. The most fascinating word of the day was Logos.² As we have just noted, Philo gave it a new interpretation by speaking of it as a Son of God, and a Mediator between God and the world. The history of the Logos was venerable, and its associations with the Stoics and other schools of philosophy had made it a popular term. Just as we breathe the atmosphere of the place where we live, so likewise we absorb the floating ideas, beliefs and terminology of the age and people in whose midst we move and have our being. Such assimilation is naturally unconscious.

With John and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as with the Christian Apologists of the Early Church, the Logos plays an all-important part.

¹The best account of Philo's influence on Christianity is in Pfeiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, E. T. iii. 2, and Siegfried, *op. cit.* pp. 303 ff.

²See Adam, *op. cit.* pp. 152 ; 154 f.; 164 f.

It is the organ of creation, and of all revelation, which is incorporated as the Christ, bringing to men a new philosophy or revelation which contains the answer to the questions raised by doubt and speculation. Small indeed, is the interest which the apologists take in the human life of Jesus. What they care for is a Logos philosophy, and in some of these apologists the name of Jesus scarcely ever occurs. Paul likewise cares little or nothing for the human life of his Christ whose Divine nature is of paramount interest to him and to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

If Christianity had to conduct a propaganda among the Greeks, it was necessary to employ Greek terminology. With the language went thought, belief, philosophy and theology. The Christian Church, which Paul created, was a compromise between the Jewish Messianic belief and hope of the first century, and the world-culture of Hellenism. This fusion made Christianity a world religion. Hellenism conquered not only Rome, but also Christianity, the victor of Rome.

Jesus lived in Judea and Galilee. He spoke Aramaic and breathed a Jewish atmosphere, but the evangelists wrote in Greek and breathed the Hellenistic atmosphere. Whatever we know of Jesus lies before us in the form in which the Greek writers conceived and understood the traditions of one, alien in nationality and language, who was said to have been the founder of the cult which they were defending and advocating. It is through this Hellenization that Christianity passed from

Palestine to the world. The accuracy of the tradition must have suffered considerably by this transplantation. It had, as it were, to take root in a new soil with a new environment. Much that was old and genuine may have been preserved, but much more that was new and not genuine was added. The background changed from the Jewish to the Hellenistic. Hence the many contradictions in the Gospels. To the Hebrew disciples, Jesus the Jew was only a man, but to the Greek evangelists he became a Son of God, a Lord, a Mediator, a Logos, a High Priest, and eventually God. In the Gospels the compromise between Judaism and Hellenism resulted in the belief in the God-man. Almost the same compromise is to be seen in Philo, who allegorized the Biblical records so that the characters of Scripture become symbols of virtues or vices. Cain signifies sin;¹ Abraham symbolizes faith. Very little of the real historical personality remains, and in his doctrine of the Logos we have the semi-divine link uniting the Greek and Hebrew Schools of thought.²

There are two elements in the Gospel. They may be called: (1) the Jewish element, belonging to the genuine part, and (2) the Hellenistic element, which is later, and contradictory to the Jewish part. This is due to the fundamental difference between Hellenistic and Jewish ideas and beliefs. The Jewish element such as the Sermon on the Mount, has many parallels in

¹*De Cherub.* 20, Mi. 151., C. W. i. 183 §65.

²Siegfried, *op. cit.* p. 307; and Schlatter, *Der Glaube im N. T.* p. 75, give references to Philo in connection with this point.

Jewish literature, whilst the Hellenistic part has many analogies in Hellenism. We shall find in the Gospels narratives or legends which can only be explained if we assume that they arose in heathen Christian circles far removed from the original Jewish-Christian centres. The heathen Christians were accustomed to Hellenism, and they are mainly responsible for the Hellenism in the New Testament. It is not suggested that there was a conscious adaptation of Hellenistic legends to the person of Jesus. It was a natural process which was quite unintentional. Jesus was hellenized, and in consequence he was deified. We have already seen how the Greeks deified the great and good men in their midst, and Jesus as the founder of a new religion, as well as the Messianic King, was quite naturally believed to be the Son of God or a God. We have said that it was impossible for a Palestinian Jew to have spoken of Jesus, or anybody else, as a "God" or "Son of God." This seems also to have been felt by the evangelist Mark (xv. 39), who places the expression "Son of God," as referring to Jesus, in the mouth of the centurion, a Roman heathen. We shall do well to note that Paul and Barnabas were taken to be gods by the heathens to whom they preached.¹

The accusation that Jesus claimed to be the Son of God is represented by the Greek evangelists as the ground of his condemnation by the Jewish High Priests ;

¹Acts xiv. 11, 12 : The multitude said : "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas, *Jupiter* ; and Paul, *Mercury*."

but this is rather unlikely to have been the historical fact, because he was put to death by Pilate for claiming to be the king of the Jews.

Neither Mark nor Luke were eye-witnesses of the events they narrate; the same remark, of course, applies to Matthew and John¹ who never knew Jesus, and never knew the surroundings in which he lived. Matthew and John are described as having been the disciples of Jesus. If they were, they certainly did not write the Gospels bearing their name.² Mark was believed to have been the interpreter of Peter, one of the original disciples. Luke is said to have been not only the author of the Third Gospel, but also of the Acts of the Apostles. This is hardly likely to have been the case. We can be almost sure that the Greek physician, Luke, who accompanied Paul on his travels, was not the author of the Book of Acts nor of the Third Gospel.³ The tradition that he was their author belongs to the middle of the second century, and is not by any means trustworthy. What we do know is that Luke, or whoever wrote the Third Gospel, made use of Josephus whose writings were issued about 97 C.E.⁴

Books written in the second or third generation after the death of the founder of a religion represent the actual conditions obtaining when the writer lived, and not when the founder lived. The tradition has

¹See *Enc. Bib.* 2542.

²*Ibid.* 2553; and Harnack, *Wesen des Christentums*, p. 13.

³See *Enc. Bib.* 44; 915 f; 2831.

⁴See Max Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*; *Enc. Bib.* 5055; and 1893, and my *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, pp. xx, 27 and 202.

grown meanwhile. It is possible that genuine historical elements have been combined with new material, but if the writer has not modified the original elements at all, there will generally be more new material which outweighs the genuine portion. If we find contradictory passages in such records, we can be sure that we have older and younger strata in the composition. We shall see that this is the case with the Gospels, especially in the birth narratives, which prove conclusively that we have a combination of earlier and later traditions. The miracles of the Gospels and the Christology of the New Testament by their contradictions illustrate this point. The Christ of John is not the Jesus of Mark, nor again is the Lord of Paul the Jesus who works miracles such as are described by Matthew. It is not true to say that these different Christs represent different aspects of *one* personality judged from different standpoints. What we have are really different strata in the tradition. The lower the strata, or in other words, the more simple the stories, the more genuine are they likely to be ; whereas the later additions are accretions due to the time and place of the writer, who is a child of his age. The age of the writers of the New Testament was Hellenism, and therefore we find traces of Hellenism in their books.

On sarcophagi in Asia Minor, Jesus is represented as an orator, or as Apollo. Art expresses the ideas of the legends which are preserved in the records of the religious community. To the converted Greek, Jesus was not likely to be a Rabbi, but rather Apollo or some other god. The Greek-Christian evangelists apply to

Jesus characteristics which really belong to the discarded heathen gods. In this process of adaptation, the belief of the converts in the Deity of Jesus formed the fundamental dogma of the Early Church. In consequence of such belief in the Deity of Jesus the narrative of the Virgin Birth arose.

Christianity believed that it had converted heathen Hellenism; in truth, it was conquered by the Greeks, and the hellenized councils of the Church formulated the creeds of Christianity. The worship of a God-man is the result of Hellenism, and it has no parallel in the Old Testament or in Rabbinic literature. Let us try to show that originally, in its earliest form, the traditions about the birth of Jesus did not include the narrative of his divine Sonship.¹ When Jesus was twelve years old he was lost. When he was found in the Temple his mother said to him: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold, thy father and I sought thee sorrowing. And he said unto them: How is it that ye sought me? Did ye not know that I must be in my Father's House?"² And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them" (Luke ii. 48-50).

This narrative clearly shows us that Luke's tradition, to the effect that Jesus was the son of the Virgin and of God, was not in harmony with the story

¹For the latest critical results as to the Birth Narratives, see Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N.T.*, pp. 223 ff, see also Usener's article in *Enc. Bib. s. v. Nativity*; cf. also Soltau, *op. cit.*

²See R. V. Margin for alternate versions.

just told. Not to understand the meaning of his being in his "Father's House" would have been quite impossible if his mother knew of the virgin birth. Mark also lets us hear of his mother thinking him beside himself (iii. 33). This would be unnatural if she had known that he was the Messiah and also the Son of God, whose ways would naturally be unlike those of other people.

Luke (ii. 4) makes Bethlehem the birthplace of Jesus, because he is to be the Messiah, and this is where the Messiah was to be born (cf. Micah v. 2); but this is contrary to fact, because Jesus was born at Nazareth in Galilee (see John vii. 41). He was not a direct descendant of David, and therefore he was not the Messiah according to the Hebrew Scriptures.

Originally, in Matthew (i. 16) and Luke (iii. 23) Joseph was the recognized father of Jesus. The Syriac Gospels (Sinaitic text) preserve this original reading.¹ The verses in Luke (i. 34 and 35) that speak of a virgin birth are an interpolation which arose in Hellenistic circles. The text in Luke (ii. 5) about Joseph, who went "to enrol himself with Mary who was betrothed to him and was with child," ran originally:—"Joseph went with Mary his wife," but later MSS. read: "Mary his betrothed wife," thereby combining both traditions. Luke's chronology is quite inexplicable.² He puts the birth of Jesus (1) in the year of the death of Herod, 4 B.C.E.; (2) at the time of the census of Quirinius,

¹See A. Pott, *Der Text des N. T.*, p. 87 f.

²See Usener's article, *Nativity*, in *Enc. Bibl.* iii., 3345, §10.

6 or 7 C.E., which took place after the death of Herod and his son Archelaus, who died in the year 6 C.E. A further contradiction in Luke (iii. 1 and 23) is found in the statement that Jesus was thirty years old in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (i.e. 28 or 29 C.E.). In other words, Jesus was born, according to Luke, in the year 1 or 2 B.C.E. We cannot, however, say at all when Jesus was born or died; the Gospels have no definite record of these dates.¹ In the middle of the second century Marcion, who was a zealous advocate of the divinity of Jesus, had a Gospel text similar to Luke's, but without the birth narratives or the Jordan baptism story.² He rejected all the other Gospels as untrustworthy.

The adoption of the best teaching of Judaism made Christianity an ethical religion. The absorption of Greek philosophy adapted it to the educated Greek, whilst the inclusion of beliefs and rites borrowed from the Mystery religions of Hellenism made Christianity acceptable to the lower classes of the heathens.³ We shall, in our next chapter, proceed to consider in detail how Jewish Hellenism has affected the New Testament and some of its doctrines.

¹See Hastings' D.B. i. 403 ff. The Nativity is placed in 7-6 B.C.E. by this Dictionary (p. 415).

²Paul knows nothing of the Virgin Birth.

³See Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 254 ff. and P. Gardner's *The Religious Experiences of S. Paul*, Chs. iv and v.

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Invaluable are the following: Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten*; Wendland, *Die Hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum*, 1907; Pfeiderer, *Urchristentum*; Heinrici, *Hellenismus und Christentum*, 1909 and *Das Urchristentum*; Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärungen des N.T.*, 1909.

The writings of Anrich, Dibelius, Everling, Hatch, Heitmüller, Usener, Polenz, Weinrich, Windisch, Wobbermin, Ramsay, Reitzenstein among others, should also be consulted.

CHAPTER III.

JEWISH HELLENISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

THE layman, whether Christian or Jew, is scarcely aware of the intimate connection that exists between the New Testament and the various writings of Hellenistic Judaism. It is only in our day that attention has been given to this subject by such scholars as Dr. Charles. In many important aspects, the historical antecedents of the New Testament are to be sought in the literature of the Hellenistic Jews rather than in the original writings of the Old Testament or in the Palestinian Rabbinic literature. Jewish beliefs and customs underwent no slight variation in the interval between the close of the Old Testament canon and the rise of the New Testament. The modification bore different aspects according to the environment of the Jews. In Palestine the development was on lines entirely different to the development in the Diaspora.¹ It was especially in the Hellenistic world that Judaism underwent so profound a modification that it eventually separated entirely from the official orthodox Judaism of Palestine.²

¹On "Jews in the Diaspora," see Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, pp. 147, 157, 221, 416 f.

²See Joël, *Blicke in d. Religionsgesch.*, i., p. 12 *et passim.*, and Weinstein, *Zur Genesis der Agada*, pp. 157 ff.

The literature and philosophy of the Judeo-Alexandrian community are the most interesting and important legacy of this movement. We have seen that Hellenism is characterized by the growth of a hybrid civilization, into which the thought and sentiment of the Orient, permeated by Greek influences, had penetrated. The new culture found her chief centres in the great cities of Syria and Egypt; after the conquests of Alexander the Great, Hellenism predominated in these places, where materialism and hedonism reigned supreme. Not only was the old religion of the Greeks lifeless, but the mysticism which was connected with Platonism was also played out. People had lost faith in the old dogmas. They were yearning for something more definite. They asked for a religion which would satisfy their heart-felt longing for salvation, and which would solve the eternal problems of life.

Plato, who died in 347 B.C.E., had declared that this material world was a delusion and that the real world was the ideal world, ever invisible to the eye, but always revealed to the intellect. When the dawn of Christianity was at hand, the Hellenistic mind had long ceased to believe in the speculations of the master teachers of Greece. All the conflicting ideas and beliefs of the Schools were felt to be arbitrary, and people asked for something less fantastic and more convincing. The Orient with her manifold forms of religion seemed to offer the faith desired. In the East it was not philosophy, but religion, which solved life's problems. There was, moreover, a belief in a supernatural revelation,

coupled with a claim to bring man into communion with the Deity, as well as an assurance of salvation in the future life, associated with some of these religions. The claim to a special Divine revelation was in itself a motive of sufficient power to attract many hearts and minds of the Greek world, who counted all philosophies as the creation of the human intellect, and therefore imperfect and without finality. On the other hand, a supernatural revelation, such as the Jews claimed to possess, seemed to be a perfect and final faith. The cults of the Orient attacked the Hellenistic world with such energy as to enable them to overcome completely the lifeless religions of Greece. But in the conflict there was compromise, and the result was a syncretism which has lasted in the world until this very day.

The Judaism that flourished in Hellenistic circles did not escape this syncretic movement. It naturally ran the risk of being adulterated by the absorption of various alien elements. In fact, it was modified to such an extent as to lose its original distinctive character, with the result that it was definitely rejected and deliberately attacked by the orthodox Judaism of Palestine.¹ This is the reason why Rabbinism in the second century was compelled to ignore the extremely valuable and interesting literature of Hellenistic Judaism. It did this intentionally and instinctively. Judaism cannot be a religion of compromise. To be both Greek to the Greeks and Hebrew to the Hebrews is an impossible

¹See Sopherim, i. 7, and Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. p. 615 f.

task for the Jew. Judaism can only be one form of that divine, eternally true, universal religion at one particular time to all the world. When the world is sufficiently ripe, it will gladly take hold of the spirit of the Hebrew, and follow him in the worship of the One God, Father of one humanity.

Greek philosophy, as represented by Platonism, had declared that the spirit was the reality of life, and that matter was of infinitely less importance. This view is known as idealism, and for many centuries it was the religion of the cultured Greeks. Their teachers and philosophers did all in their power to emphasize the vast superiority of the ideal or spiritual as contrasted with the material. The spiritual nature of reality constituted their God-idea, which was exalted and removed far away from this material world. This transcendental belief made it very difficult to explain the origin of matter; it was impossible to believe that the latter could have been created by the God-idea, who is all Spirit, because the spiritual was far too holy to be brought into contact with matter, the source of all evil and sin. Here, then, was the insuperable gulf which divided the material from the spiritual. Heraclitus, one of the earliest philosophical theologians of the Greeks, had spoken of the Logos as the Divine Law of Life. His Logos is "a Unity, Omni-present, Rational and Divine, the guiding and controlling Cause of everything that comes to pass, whether by the agency of man or of nature."¹ The Logos is the reconciler of opposites, it

¹ Adam, *op. cit.* p. 91.

is the hidden harmony which reconciles spirit and matter. This is well brought out by Philo:—"That which is made up of both the opposites is one, and when this one is dissected, the opposites are brought to light. Is not this what the Greeks say their great and celebrated Heraclitus put in the forefront of his philosophy as its sum and substance, and boasted of as a new discovery?"¹ In other words, the Logos reveals unity. Heraclitus had undoubtedly implied that the Logos was God, for he says, "there is but one wisdom, it wills not and yet wills to be called by the name of Zeus." The one wisdom is the Logos, which is the ultimate reality; it is the Divine Reason, immanent both in nature and man.

The Logos was not personified by the early Greek philosophers nor by the Stoics; it was Christianity that introduced the doctrine of the Incarnate Logos, the eternal Christ or God-man; thereby it constituted a fundamental difference between itself and Stoicism. The early Christian Fathers had justly declared that Greek philosophy was a "preparation" for the Gospel. Greek philosophy includes Philo, who was born at least 20 years before the birth of Christ.² As we have already noted, Philo had interposed the Logos between God and matter.³ Even before the time of Philo the Logos had played an important part in Jewish Hellenistic literature, but it had not been constituted the basis of a definite

¹Quoted by Adam, *op. cit.* p. 98.

²See Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 2. p. 339, (3rd. ed.).

³See above p. 44.

system of philosophy and metaphysics.¹ This was the original work of Philo, and was developed by the New Testament along his lines. In other words, what the Logos is to Philo, the Christ is to the writers of the New Testament. Philo's Logos enabled men to think of God as the transcendent King and Father of all. God is represented by the Logos, in whose image the ideal man is created. In this way God is united to man and the world. We have already heard how Philo speaks of the Logos as the first-born Son of God; he also speaks of the world as the second-born Son of God.² We have here a special kind of Trinity: God the Supreme Father; His first-born Son, the Logos; and his second-born Son, the world or matter. The whole of Philo's speculation is based on the fundamental idea of the Logos mediating between God the Spirit and the world of created matter. Before we proceed to consider Philo's doctrine of the Logos, we must direct our attention to the pre-Philonian Jewish Hellenistic literature, and consider how this literature has exercised an influence on the New Testament.

The first fruit of the union of Hellenism and Alexandrian Judaism was the Greek version of the Old Testament, usually spoken of as the Septuagint.³ This

¹Cf. M. Friedländer, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Christenthums*, pp. 8 ff., and Grill, *Untersuchung über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums*, pp. 160 ff.

²*Quod Deus immut.*, 6., M.i. 277., C.W. ii. p. 62, §31.

³On the LXX in relation to Jewish Hellenism see Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, pp. 175 ff. See also Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, i. p. 156, Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos*, p. 185 f. and Bois, *Essai*, pp. 130 ff.

is by far the most important result of that fusion of the Occident with the Orient which characterizes Hellenism. The early Church Fathers looked upon this Greek version of the Old Testament as a link in the Divine dispensation for the salvation of humanity. The Jews were equally keen, at all events in the early years of its existence, in singing the praises of this wonderful translation.¹ The legend informs us how seventy-two scholars were sent from Jerusalem to Egypt at the request of King Ptolemy Philadelphus, and how, by the miracle of God, they individually agreed in their version, although they were isolated when engaged in their task of translating the Hebrew original version into Greek. Josephus, Philo, and the letter of Aristeas tell us all the details of this legend. Dr. Swete, in the introduction to his erudite edition of the LXX, observes:² "No question can arise as to the greatness of the place occupied by the Alexandrian version in the religious life of the first six centuries of its history. The LXX was the Bible of the Hellenistic Jew, not only in Egypt and Palestine but throughout Western Asia and Europe. It created a language of religion which lent itself readily to the service of Christianity, and became one of the most important allies of the Gospel. It provided the Greek-speaking Church with an authorized translation of the Old Testament, and, when Christian missions advanced beyond the limits of Hellenism, it served as a basis for fresh translations into the vernacular."

¹T. B. Megilla, 9a.

²p. 433.

It may not be quite out of place to point out that the English Church has until our own time followed substantially the text of the LXX in the Prayer-book version of the Psalms and in her Liturgy. The LXX is the bond of union between Jew and Gentile. It was the version which was generally used by the writers of the New Testament.¹ Here and there, however, a different version of a particular text of the Old Testament may have been known to the evangelists or to Paul or to the other authors of the New Testament. As to the date of the LXX, Schürer places it not later than 200 B.C.E., Herriot says it should be about 170 to 150 B.C.E., whilst Wendland thinks that it should be dated as late as 96 B.C.E. What brought about the translation? Three possible solutions of this problem have been suggested:² (1) the interest felt by one of the literary rulers of Egypt, where patronage of learning led to the formation of the famous Alexandrian Library, which had more than twenty millions of books. In this library, not only were original manuscripts preserved, but translations of foreign literature were also made. (2) A second view is, that the translation arose to meet the wants of the Greek-speaking Jews, who had forgotten Hebrew. This theory is supported by Dr. Wendland. (3) The third explanation is, that the version was prepared for the use of missionaries sent out by the Jews throughout the world. Philo seems to favour this view, for he expresses the hope that the

¹See Vollmer, *Die A. T. Citate bei Paulus*, pp. 8 ff.

²See also Frankel, *op. cit.* pp. 5 ff.

"laws of the Hebrew Bible will displace those of other nations." We cannot dwell here on the vast importance of the LXX for the phraseology and theology of the New Testament. Dr. Swete deals with this problem.¹ One should also consult the interesting article by Thayer,² who sums up by observing that the general influence of the LXX upon New Testament Greek was indubitably great.³

Alexandrine Judaism was not only interested in translating the Old Testament, but it also felt the need of re-interpreting the old views by more modern scriptures. Hence arose the Apocryphal literature. In the Apocrypha we have a second source whence the New Testament writers borrowed most freely. The subject is one that has not yet received the attention which it so richly deserves. Let us consider one or two of the books of the Apocrypha, in order to see how they have influenced the New Testament. We will direct our attention to the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon, which was intended to combat and replace the Old Testament Book of Wisdom known as Ecclesiastes, or, Koheleth, attributed to Solomon. The Greek Book of Wisdom protests against the opinion of such Jews who favour Hellenistic philosophy by inclining partly to Stoicism and partly to Epicureanism. Some of these philosophical teachings appear to have had, to a certain extent, the support of the Old Testament Book of

¹ *Op. cit.* pp. 450-457.

² Hastings' D.B. iii. s. v. *Language of the New Testament.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 40.

Koheleth. There are not wanting critics who claim to have detected traces of Greek philosophy in this little book of the Hebrew Scriptures.¹ To the opinions of Solomon—the sceptic of the Old Testament—the new Book of Wisdom offers a corrective. The original language of this Book of the Apocrypha was Greek.² The form of thought in this Book is also, to an extent, Greek.³ The Hebraizing expressions and the poetic form of structure are due to the LXX. The author makes no attempt to allegorize away the stories of the Old Testament, nor does he adorn his narrative by introducing Greek philosophy to any great extent. He is very bitter against the weak-kneed Jews of his day, who had allowed themselves to be turned from their Judaism by Greek culture.⁴ The object of the book is to insist that it is only in Judaism where the true wisdom is to be found. “The choice of this notion of wisdom was specially happy, because within its sweep could be brought all that the Greek philosophy contained of truth, and all that the Old Testament taught about Chochma.”⁵ If it be true that the author of Wisdom owes his conception of wisdom as the all pervading power⁶ to the Stoics, it is undoubtedly a fact that his doctrine of wisdom as an attribute of God is based wholly upon the Old Testament.⁷

It is necessary to consider very briefly the devel-

¹*Enc. Bib.* 1162.

³*Enc. Bib.* 1178.

⁵Siegfried, in Hastings' D.B., iv., pp. 929a.

⁶vii., 22-24.

²See *J. Q. R.*, 1891, pp. 722 ff.

⁴i., 16—ii., 24.

⁷Proverbs, viii. 22 ff. according to the LXX.

opment of the Jewish doctrine of wisdom. In Proverbs it is conceived of as a personified creation, which God created as the first of His works prior to the creation of the world. The text of Proverbs (viii. 22-31) is as follows :—

“The Lord formed me as the beginning of His way, as the first of His works of old.

“I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.

“When there were no depths, I was brought forth ;
When there were no fountains abounding with water.

“Before the mountains were settled, before the hills was I brought forth :

“While as yet He had not made the earth, nor the fields, nor the sum of the dust of the world.

“When He established the heavens, I was there :

“When He set a circle upon the face of the deep :
when He made firm the skies above : when the fountains of the deep became strong : when He gave to the sea its bound, that the waters should not transgress His commandment :

“When He marked out the foundations of the earth, then I was by Him as a little child :¹

“And I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him ;

“Rejoicing in His habitable earth ;

¹This translation agrees with the version in Kautzsch's last edition of the Old Testament (ii. p. 262). In Kautzsch's *Biblische Theologie des A. T.* (1911) p. 372, Wisdom is incorrectly spoken of as “the master workman,” see also Fairweather, *The Background of the Gospels* (1911), p. 84, where Gunkel's translation of אִמְנָן (*nursling*) is quoted.

“And my delight was with the sons of men.”

According to the Hebrew text the Book of Proverbs clearly implies that Wisdom did not assist God in the work of creation, but was only at His side looking on as a spectator. The Revised Version renders the crucial verse 30 as follows:—“Then I was by Him, as a master workman”—undoubtedly implying co-creation. This version is due to the LXX (*ἀρμόζουσα arranging [all things]*). The Hebrew text is וְאֶחָדָה אֶצְלוֹ אֲמִן. The word אֲמִן is compared by Rashi (11th century) with הָאֲמִיִּים (Lam. iv. 5) “They that were brought up,” and he again compares this latter expression with Esther (ii.7) וַיְהִי אֲמִן “And he was the one who was nurturing (or bringing up).” The word אֲמִן upon the analogy of יִאֲמִן means foster-child. What a child is to man, that was Wisdom, the first-born of creation, to the Creator. Later, when God began to complete His work of creation, Wisdom was with Him and beheld His wonderful work. Then after man was formed, Wisdom found her allotted task ready, for she had to find her “delight with the sons of men.” Her work was not to create the world, but to guide the souls of God’s earthly children. To humanity she turns and cries: “Now therefore, sons, hearken unto me, for blessed are they that keep my ways.

“Hear instruction and be wise, and refuse it not.”²

The pure monotheism of Biblical Judaism rejects

¹See Numbers, xi. 12. This view agrees with Ibn Gannach, ספר השרשים, ed. Bacher, p. 38, and Ibn Ezra *in loc.*

²Prov. *ibid.*, verses 32, 33.

absolutely the idea of Wisdom as a separate entity, independent of God, co-operating in the creation of the world. It grants that God created the Universe *in* wisdom or *with* wisdom, but not by the help of Wisdom. Wisdom may be a Divine instrument or tool in the hands of the Creator, but is not an independent workman. In the Greek Book of Wisdom this doctrine of Proverbs is developed somewhat. First of all, the author frequently personifies Wisdom.¹ He also represents Wisdom as immanent in God, as a Divine attribute.² Again, the author thinks of it as something quite independent, existing side by side with God.³ The real point in the development of the doctrine is reached when the writer makes Wisdom co-operate in the work of creation. In the Hebrew Book of Proverbs God alone created the world, and Wisdom was simply a witness of His work. In the Greek Book of Wisdom we read: "She (*i.e.* Wisdom) chooseth out for Him His works" (viii. 4).

"For she that is the artificer of all things taught me, even Wisdom.

"For there is in her a spirit quick of understanding, holy,

"Only begotten, manifold,

"Subtil, freely moving,

"Clear in utterance, unpolluted,

"Distinct, unharmed,

"Loving what is good, keen, unhindered,

¹i. 6; viii. 9; x. 1 ff.
³vii. 22; viii. 3; ix. 4.

²vii. 26.

" Beneficent, loving toward man,
 " Stedfast, sure, free from care,
 " All-powerful, all-surveying,
 " And penetrating through all spirits
 " That are quick of understanding, pure, most
 subtil :

" For Wisdom is more mobile than any motion ;
 " Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by
 reason of her pureness.

" For she is a breath of the power of God,
 " And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty;
 " Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into
 her.

" For she is an effulgence from everlasting light,
 " And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,
 " And an image of His goodness.

" And she, being one, hath power to do all things."¹

We can pause here for a moment, although there is much more to discuss in connection with this book, *e.g.*, the doctrine that love is the Divine Essence, or the dogma that man is created for incorruption, or the hope of a Messianic Kingdom when God will rule over Jew and Heathen—and we must ask, What has been the influence which this book has exercised upon the New Testament? Grafe has established once for all the fact of Paul's intimate acquaintance with, and dependence upon this book, in regard to (1) the doctrine of predestination ; (2) the condemnation of the idolatry

¹Chap. vii. 22-27.

of the heathen; and (3) the conception of the relation of body and soul.¹

The extremely important passage already quoted: "For she is an effulgence from everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image of His goodness" (vii. 26) bears a striking resemblance to the Epistle to the Hebrews² (i. 2, 3) where the Son of God, the Christ, is described as the one whom God "appointed heir of all things, through whom also He made the worlds; who being the *effulgence* of His glory and the *very image* of His substance, and upholding all things by the word of His power." The word ἀπαύγασμα or "effulgence," is common to the Book of Wisdom and to this Epistle.³ Strange to say it is not found elsewhere in the New Testament. The Greek for "very image" χαρακτήρ in the Epistle leads us back to Philo (*De Plant.* 5. Mi. 332: C. W. ii. p. 128, §18), where he also speaks of the "effulgence" and describes the everlasting Logos as the "very image" of the seal of God.⁴ Whatever is impressed by the seal bears the mark of the seal, its stamp, its *character*. Philo wishes to imply that the Logos is the impression or stamp of the Divine

¹See Grafe, *Das Verhältniss der Paulin. Schriften zu Sap. Solom.* Freiburg, 1892, p. 251 ff.

²Cf. II. Cor. iii., 18.

³Cf. Philo, *De opif. mundi*, 51. Mi. 35: C.W. i. p. 42, §146.

⁴See also *Quod det. pot. insid.* 23. Mi. 207: C.W. i. p. 257, §83 where the πνεῦμα (Spirit) is spoken of as the "*character* of the Divine Power." On the identification of the *Divine Power* with *Wisdom* and the *Christ*, see i. Cor. i. 24. Philo sometimes identifies *Wisdom* with the *Logos*, see *Leg. alleg.* i. 19, Mi. 56: C. W. i. p. 66, §65, and cf. M. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, pp. 19, 27 f.

Seal, and that men are created in the image of this stamp. The "very image" or the "character" with which God creates and which He impresses on His creation is, according to Philo, the Logos or, according to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Son of God or the Christ. Both Philo and the New Testament agree in holding that it was not God who made the world, but the Logos or the Son of God or the Christ. With Philo the Logos is the Son of God, who creates the world; in the New Testament it is the Christ who is the Son of God, who also creates the world. The word "effulgence" bears a double implication: (1) it reflects the light of its source, (2) it sheds light on the objects around it.

The author of the Book of Wisdom proceeds to trace the working of Wisdom in history as Divine Providence. Thus he discusses the Old Testament narrative of the punishment which befell the rebellious children of Israel in the wilderness when fiery serpents bit them. Many Israelites died, but when Moses made the brazen serpent all who looked up to it were healed. In the Book of Wisdom this is modified in the following remarkable manner:—"For of a truth it was neither herb nor mollifying plaister that cured them, but Thy Logos (Word), O Lord, which healeth all things" (xvi. 12). This idea was most likely in the mind of the author of the Fourth Gospel when he wrote: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up."¹ The Son of Man in the

¹John iii. 14.

Fourth Gospel is the Logos or Divine Word. Just as the serpent that was lifted up in the wilderness caused a miraculous cure (according to Numbers xxi. 6-9), so *God's Word* according to the Book of Wisdom, or the *Son of Man* according to the Fourth Gospel, effects restoration to life. Again, the Epistle to the Hebrews (iv. 12) says: "For the Word of God is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit . . . and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart." This verse has also been influenced by the passage from the Book of Wisdom¹ which we have already quoted, and here we find the attributes of Wisdom transferred to the Logos or Christ. Parallel expressions are also to be found in Philo, although the Book of Wisdom is the undoubted source used by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.²

Let us consider one more quotation from the Book of Wisdom:—

"Thine Almighty Word (Logos) leaped down from heaven out of the royal thrones,

"A stern warrior, into the midst of the doomed land,

"Bearing as a sharp sword³ Thine unfeigned commandment :

"And standing it filled all things with death ;

"And while it touched the heaven, it trode upon the earth" (xviii. 15, 16).

¹vii. 22 ff.

²See Siegfried, *op. cit.* p. 325 f.

³Compare this passage with the *Epistle to the Hebrews* iv. 12, "the sword" is common to both texts.

The expressions in this passage of the Book of Wisdom approximate very closely to the description of the Logos in the Fourth Gospel. It is by no means correct to say that the terms used by Wisdom are another form of the saying of the Psalmist: "He sendeth forth his commandment upon the earth; His word runneth very swiftly."¹ What we have is rather the personal Logos, as distinguished from the personified commandment. "It is clear," says Bishop Bull, "that the author is speaking of a personally-subsisting Word (Logos). And it is no less evident that it is not some ministering angel, as Grotius would have it, but a Divine person that is designated in this place; for the author calls this word (Logos) 'Almighty,' and also assigns him a royal throne in heaven."²

Here we have "an adumbration of the doctrine of the Second Person of the Trinity, who is God in Heaven, even while He walks on earth as Man."³ We must also point out that Wisdom (vii. 22) identifies Wisdom *σοφία* with the Holy Spirit.⁴

In one passage (ix. 17 f.) the three great conceptions—God, Wisdom and the Holy Spirit—are joined together in a manner which adumbrates the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. It is a passage too important to pass by:—"And who ever gained knowledge of Thy

¹cxlvi. 15.

²Deane, *Book of Wisdom*, p. 212.

³Deane, *ibid.*

⁴And cf. ix. 17, and Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* vii. 12 and xi. 14. We have seen that Philo identifies sometimes the Logos with Wisdom, see Drummond, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 201 ff.; Heinze, *op. cit.* p. 194 and above, p. 69.

counsel, except Thou gavest Wisdom, and sentest Thy Holy Spirit from on high? . . . and through Wisdom were (men) saved." The sending forth of the Holy Spirit from on high, and the saving of man through Wisdom or the Logos are ideas which seem to have influenced Christian belief. Is there any doubt at all that the speculations of the author of the Book of Wisdom helped to provide the categories for the Christian doctrine of the Christ-Logos?

Wisdom is called in this Apocryphal book "only-begotten."¹ This epithet is also applied to Jesus in John i. 14 and 18. St. Augustine² used the passage of Wisdom (vii. 22) to show the consubstantiality of the Father and Son, and he takes, generally speaking, what is said of Wisdom to be spoken of the Christ.

Let us now sum up. The fact is patent that the description of Wisdom in the Greek Book of Wisdom prepared the way for the recognition of the Logos as a Son of God and Christ by the New Testament. The stages are as follows: Wisdom was identified successively with the Power of God (*δύναμις*), the Holy Spirit, the Logos, the Son of God and the Christ.

Such passages of the Book of Wisdom as: "God made not death; and takes no pleasure in the destruction of the living" (i. 13) or again: "through envy of the devil death came into the world" (ii. 24)³ or once

¹ Wisdom (vii. 22); see Grill, *op. cit.* p. 77, and cf. Feine, *Theologie des N.T.*, p. 555.

² *De Trinit.* iv. 20.

³ Cf. John viii. 44.

more: "For ■ corruptible body weigheth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle lieth heavy on the mind" (ix. 15)¹ or finally, the thought that Wisdom cannot dwell "in a body subject to sin"—do not some of these thoughts and expressions seem to be re-echoed in the writings of Paul? It may be argued that if there be merely a similar word or term in the two authors, it would by no means imply any actual dependence of the one on the other. We must rather inquire whether the same trend of thought as well as the unusual phraseology exist in both authors; if this be the case, there seems to be good reason to assume conscious adaptation or borrowing on the part of the younger writer from his predecessor.

It may be of interest to consider to what extent Paul made use of the Greek Book of Wisdom.² In Wisdom (xiii. to xv.) we are reminded that man is vain and sinful when he is without the perception of God. The worshippers of idols are not to be excused because they did not discover God, although they claimed to explore the course of things. Wisdom argues that God could be known from the beauty of His work. Paul likewise says: "For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity,³ so that they are without excuse" (Rom. i. 20).

¹Cf. II Cor. v. 4.

²See Pfeiderer, *Urchristentum* (2nd. ed.) ii. p. 24.

³The "power and divinity" are identified by Paul and Philo, see above, p. 64, note 4, and p. 72, note 4.

The Book of Wisdom as well as Paul refer to the folly of making idols, and the consequent immoral worship connected therewith: "For the worship of those nameless idols is a beginning and cause and end of every evil" (Wisd. xiv. 27.). The list of sins in this chapter of Wisdom must be compared with Paul's list. The Apostle to the Gentiles (Romans i. 29) speaks of men as "being filled with all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, *murder*, strife, *deceit*, malignity" and so on. Wisdom also describes the idolaters in the following words:—"No longer do they guard either life or purity of marriage. But one brings upon another either death by treachery, or anguish by adulterous offspring. And all things confusedly are filled with blood and *murder*, theft and *deceit*" (xiv. 24 f.).

Paul is fond of describing the vices of heathenism.¹ There is, of course, a different point of view in each writer. Wisdom attributes heathenism to the ignorance of man; Paul considers the cause to be man's perverted will. He also admits that men "became vain in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was darkened" (Rom. i. 21.). Wisdom also speaks of "the senseless imaginings of their unrighteousness, wherein they were led astray to worship irrational reptiles" (xi. 15). Another instance will show more clearly the use of similar expressions. In Romans we read: "Or hath not the potter a right over the clay, from the same lump to make one part a *vessel* unto honour, and another unto

¹See Gal. v., 19-21, II Cor. xii. 20, and cf. I Tim. i., 9 and 10; see also Epist. Barnab. §20.

dishonour?" (ix. 21). Wisdom also declares: "For a potter, kneading soft earth, laboriously mouldeth each several *vessel* for our service: nay, out of the same clay doth he fashion both the vessels that minister to clean uses, and those of a contrary sort" (xv. 7).¹

The next two verses to the last quotation from Romans (ix. 22, 23) run as follows: "What if God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much longsuffering vessels of wrath fitted unto destruction: that he might make known the riches of his glory upon vessels of mercy, which he afore prepared unto glory." In the Book of Wisdom (xii. 20, 21) we find a similar thought: "For if on them that were enemies of thy servants and due to death thou didst take vengeance with so great heedfulness and indulgence, giving them times and place whereby they might escape from their wickedness: with how great carefulness didst thou judge thy sons, to whose fathers thou gavest oaths and covenants of good promise." If God gave the enemies of His children time to repent before He punished them, how much more does this apply to His own redeemed children? Both Paul and Wisdom in these parallel passages refer to Pharaoh and the Egyptians as the objects of God's wrath. There can be no doubt that Paul must have known this passage of Wisdom when writing the ninth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans.²

¹Cf. Eccus. xxxiii. 12, 13.

²Compare also Ro. ix. 1, with Wisdom xvii. 11, and Ro. ix. 19, 22, with Wisdom xii. 12.

When Wisdom (xi. 23) cries to God: "But thou hast *mercy on all men*, because thou hast power to do all things" do we not seem to hear an echo in the well-known words of Paul: "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might *have mercy upon all*" (Rom. xi. 32)? There is no need to dwell on the relative moral worth of the two writers, but in this instance it certainly seems that Wisdom is on a higher plane. Speaking of the righteous, the Book of Wisdom says: "They shall judge nations, and have dominion over people" (iii. 8). Paul repeats this: "Or know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?" (1 Cor. vi. 2).

In the Epistle to the Ephesians we find the striking passage: "Put on the *whole armour*¹ of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil . . . stand therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and *having put on the breastplate of righteousness* . . . withal taking up the *shield* of faith . . . and take the *helmet* of salvation, and the *sword* of the Spirit, which is the Word of God"² (vi. 11-17). In the Book of Wisdom we have the source whence the author of this Epistle drew his illustration. Wisdom declares that God protects the righteous:—"He shall take his jealousy as *whole armour* . . . *he shall put on righteousness as a breastplate*, and shall array himself with judgment unfeigned as with a *helmet*. He shall

¹The word *πανοπλία* (whole armour) occurs also in Wisdom v. 18.

²Word (Logos) of God is identified here with the Spirit.

take holiness as an invincible *shield*, and he shall sharpen stern wrath for a *sword*" (v. 17-20).¹

Paul longs for the freedom of the Spirit. He writes to the Corinthians: "For verily in this we groan, longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven . . . for indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened . . . that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life" (II Cor. v. 2 and 4). This seems to be practically the teaching of the Book of Wisdom:—"For a corruptible body weigheth down the soul, and the earthy *tabernacle* lieth heavy on the mind that is full of cares (ix. 15).² Can there be any doubt at all that Paul, who speaks of the Manna as a spiritual food,³ was indebted for this symbolism to the Book of Wisdom which also declares that God gave his people "Angels' food" (xvi. 20)?

One more parallel will suffice to show how Paul was influenced by the Greek Book of Wisdom. In his Epistle to the Romans he writes:—"Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and longsuffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?" (ii. 4). In Wisdom we read: "But thou, our God, art gracious and true, longsuffering, and in mercy ordering all things. For even if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy dominion; but we shall not

¹Some authorities refer to Is. lix. 17 as the source used by the writer of the Epistle to the Ephesians. We find *breastplate* and *helmet* in Isaiah; whereas in Wisdom we have *whole armour*, *shield* and *sword* in addition.

²Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 30, 81 c; and see E. Pfeleiderer, *Die Philosophie des Heraklit*, p. 296.

³I Cor. x. 3; cf. LXX version of Ps. lxxviii. 25.

sin, knowing that we have been accounted thine" (xv. 1, 2).¹

The New Testament did not rely exclusively on the Greek Book of Wisdom; there was another Book of Wisdom composed by Jesus, the son of Sirach. This book, commonly called Ecclesiasticus, also contributed its quota to the Christology of the New Testament. The teaching of both these Books of Wisdom was developed by Philo, and we must turn to his writings to find the last link in the chain of development. The historical order is then as follows:—LXX, Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Philo and the New Testament. It may be just as well to refer for a moment or two to the Book of Ecclesiasticus. This was originally written in Hebrew, portions of which were discovered by Dr. Schechter in 1896.² This book is much earlier than the Greek Wisdom of Solomon and is intermediate, not only in time but in development of doctrine, between the Old Testament and this Greek apocryphal book. In Sirach the sole intermediary between God and the world is the divine attribute of Wisdom, which is personified and represented as the Divine principle of creation, but it is not an independent force or being.³ The actual part played by Wisdom in the drama of creation is somewhat obscure in this book. Wisdom is said to have "come forth from the mouth of the Most High" and to have "covered the earth as ■ mist"⁴ She declares:—

¹This parallel is adduced by Hühn, *Die A. T. Citate im N. T.*, p. 145.

²See *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, ed. Schechter and Taylor, p. v.

³Cf. Hastings' D.B. v. p. 282 a.

⁴See above, p. 25 (note).

"I dwelt in high places, and my throne is in the pillar of the cloud.

"Alone I compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the depth of the abyss"

"He created me from the beginning before the world . . .

"In the holy tabernacle I ministered before Him

"And so was I established in Zion" (xxiv. 3-5, 9, 10)

Wisdom is, then, a creation of God and seems to have been destined to play a part in the providential history of Israel.

The connection of Wisdom with a pillar of cloud is of some interest, because Philo also identifies the pillar of cloud (Exodus xiv. 19) with the Logos, which "gently showers down Wisdom on virtuous understandings." (Quis rer. div. h. 42, Mi. 501: C.W. iii. p. 39, §204).¹ In the New Testament Christ is also associated with the providential working of the history of the chosen people. He was the Manna, and also the Rock that was believed to have followed the Israelites in the wilderness. We shall return to these points in our next chapter.

More important is the idea of Sirach that Wisdom was ministering in the Holy Tabernacle. Here, again, Philo adopts this idea when he declares that the high priest in the Sanctuary is no man, but the Logos.² This theory is also to be found in the New Testament

¹See also *De Vit. Mos.* 1, 29, M. ii. 107: C.W. iv. p. 133, §166, and cf. *Wisdom*, x. 15 ff. where the *cloud* is identified with *Wisdom*.

²*De Prof.* 20, Mi. 562.

where Christ is described as the High Priest.¹ Why does the New Testament speak of Jesus as a Priest? In his earthly life he never exercised priestly functions,² nor did he claim to belong to the house of Levi. The solution to this question is forced upon us by the fact that the authors of the New Testament must have used the Book of Sirach, where we find Wisdom described as officiating in God's Holy Tabernacle. We have seen that Wisdom became identified with the Logos of Philo and his Logos is the Son of God, who is also the High Priest. This re-appears in the New Testament where the Christ is also the High Priest, the Logos and the Son of God.

Enough has been said to justify our main contention that Paul and the other writers of the New Testament books were profoundly influenced by the Hellenistic Jewish books of Wisdom. Equally fruitful would be the comparison of the other books of the Apocrypha and the pseud-epigraphic writings of the Alexandrian Jews with the New Testament. It could easily be demonstrated that these books have influenced in a marked degree most of the writings contained in the New Testament. Dr. Charles has shown to what a large extent the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were used by the New Testament authors. The Book of Enoch is directly cited by Jude (14, 15), who also

¹See Heb. iii. 1 ; vii. 15, 24 ; ix. 25.

²Works of mercy were not the prerogative of the Hebrew priesthood. On the priestly office of the Christian Messiah see Witsius, *Miscell. Sac.* ii. pp. 454 ff. and cf. Hastings' D.C.G. ii. pp. 415 ff.

makes use of the Assumption of Moses (9).¹ Our chief interest has been to attempt to investigate and trace the source of the Christology of the New Testament. We have shown thus far that there is a conscious adaptation on the part of the theologians of the New Testament of the Hellenistic Jewish Wisdom doctrine, which is entirely transferred and applied to the Christ doctrine. The link was the Logos which occurs in Wisdom, Philo, and the New Testament. It is necessary once more to emphasize the fact that Palestinian Judaism must not be held responsible for this development. When we are told that "Christianity came forth from the bosom of Pharisaic Judaism,"² we must bear in mind that this would be true if applied only from a general point of view to some of the teaching attributed to Jesus. As we have already said, the greater part of the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer and some of the parables may truly be described as the fruit of Pharisaic Judaism. This origin, however, does not apply to the theology of Paul, John, or the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Judaism of Palestine must not be held responsible for the stories of the Nativity, Crucifixion, Ascension or Resurrection, nor for the Logos doctrine. All these elements are the products of Hellenism. One might be more definite and say that some of these elements were due to Jewish Hellenism; but as we shall see, Christianity owed as much to pagan Hellenism as it did to Jewish Hellenism for its origin and development.

¹See *Assumption of Moses*, ed. Charles, pp. lxii. ff.

²Hastings' D.B. i. p. 109a.

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On *Paul and Greek Philosophy* see Sir W. Ramsay in Hastings' D.B. v. 150a.

LXX : See Nestle in Hastings' D.B.

Ecclesiasticus : Kautzsch's edition for bibliography.

See Hastings' D.B. iv. (Nestle) and (Fairweather) and Enc. Bib. *sub. voc.*

Wisdom : see Grimm's Commentary and Kautzsch's edition for bibliography.

Siegfried's article in Hastings' D.B. iv. 928 ff. and 283a.

Fairweather, in Hastings' D.B. v. on the Logos problem.

Toy's article in Enc. Bib. iv. 5336 ff.

See also Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, vol. i. p. 177 ff.

CHAPTER IV.

PHILO AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE historical Jesus remains for ever a problematical figure, concerning whose life we can only make more or less probable suggestions. It was just this lack of historical fact that enabled the Church to develop her ideal Christ without fearing the criticism of history. So eminent an authority as Dr. Wendland¹ considers that in proportion as the picture of the historical Jesus lacked reality, so much the more did Paul press forward his Messiah theology. In other words, the want of historical fact was compensated by the abundance of metaphysics. Paul's theology thrust aside the figure of the human or historical Jesus in order to dwell on the Heavenly Christ. Dr. Wendland admits that Paul grew up in Jewish circles other than those in which Jesus grew up.

We believe that the only reasonable and true account of Paul's Christology is to be found in the identification of his Christ with Philo's Logos. The Logos was the Messiah not only for John, but also for Philo from whom John (or the author of the Fourth Gospel) took the term and idea. We have seen how the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews also borrowed

¹*Op. cit.* p. 140.

his Messianic categories from the Wisdom-Logos idea of the Hellenistic Jewish theologians. If, then, the writers of the New Testament did not hesitate to make use of the Wisdom-Logos conceptions of the Books of Wisdom and of Philo, why should we imagine that Paul should not have done likewise? Indeed, this would have been the most natural thing for him to do, for Philo is his predecessor with whose writings he must have been well acquainted.

Philo's Logos is free from national, local or historical associations. He emphasizes thereby the universal nature of its operations. It is a moot question among scholars whether Philo attributed personality to his Logos.¹ In some passages he undoubtedly does so, as when he speaks of the Logos as a Mediator. However, be this as it may, we might point out that although the Holy Ghost has been recognized by the Church as a part of the Trinity, it lacks personality quite as much as the Logos, and nevertheless it is considered to be part of the Godhead. The Logos of Philo, constructed out of Platonism, Stoicism, Egyptian Mysticism and the Old Testament, is the representative of the world to God and also the representative of God to the world. The Logos is identified by Philo with (1) the Rock that followed Israel in the wilderness:² (2) the Image of God:³

¹Cf. Drummond, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 222 ff., Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 2, pp. 378 ff., and Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon*, p. 107.

²See below, p. 86.

³*De profug.*, 19, Mi. 561.

(3) the first man who is the archetypal man :¹ (4) the Son of God and the High Priest :² (5) the first-born Son :³ (6) the Man of God :⁴ (7) the Paraclete,⁵ and also (8) the Mediator.⁶ All of these aspects reappear in the New Testament description of its Christ. This is surely not due to coincidence, but to conscious adaptation.

The oldest part of the New Testament is to be found in the Epistles of Paul. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by the fact that the Synoptic Gospels are printed in the New Testament before the Pauline Epistles. The arrangement of the books of the New Testament Canon throws no light on their real chronological position. For instance, Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, according to the accepted order obtaining in the printed texts, should be rearranged if historical principles are to be recognized. We should then have Mark, Luke, Matthew and John. There is also one other caution which is necessary when speaking of the Epistles of Paul. Modern scholars are not inclined to accept as genuine *all* the letters attributed to Paul. There are some critics (*e.g.*, van Manen) who would deny the genuineness of any of the Epistles. The consensus of opinion, however, inclines to accept as genuine the four famous Epistles (Romans ; i. and ii.

¹ *De conf. ling.*, 28, Mi. 427 : C.W. ii. p. 247, §146.

² *De somn.*, i. §37, Mi. 653 : C.W. iii. 233, §215.

³ *De conf. ling.*, 14, Mi. 414 : C.W. ii. p. 231, §63.

⁴ *Ibid.* 11, Mi. 411 : C.W. ii. p. 226, §41.

⁵ *De vit. Mos.*, iii. §14, Mii. 155 : C.W. iv. p. 191, §134. See Zeller, *op. cit.* iii, 2, p. 372 (note 5) and cf. Cohn, *Die Werke Philos.*, i. 329 (note 1).

⁶ *Quis rer. div. h.*, 42, Mi. 501-2 : C.W. iii. p. 39, §205 f.

Corinthians and Galatians.) Conservative scholars regard the following Epistles, in addition to those just mentioned, as genuine:—i. and ii. Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians, and perhaps Ephesians.

Paul refers to the rock in the wilderness (Num. xx. 22-11) whence the Israelites obtained water. He writes: "They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ" (i. Cor. x. 4). The commentators¹ tell us that Paul was using a Rabbinical fancy. In the Targumin of Onkelos and Jonathan it is a *well* which followed the Israelites in their wanderings. The Rabbis also said that this miraculous *well* was one of the things created on the eve of the first Sabbath.² The source probably used by Paul was not the Rabbinical interpretation, but Philo who identifies the *Rock* with the Logos or Wisdom. Philo's view is of interest, because we see that his Logos was not only the Divine Word but also the Divine Wisdom. He identifies the Rock of Deut. (viii. 15) with *Wisdom*³ ("The nurse of those who desire incorruptible food"); and the Rock of Deut. (xxxii. 13) he identifies both with *Wisdom* and the *Word* or Logos. Paul was surely aware of this interpretation, and the transfer to Christ was easy and immediate. To argue that Paul was using the Rabbinic tradition is unavailing, because according to the Rabbis it was not the *Rock* that followed the Israelites in their wanderings, but it was the *Well* (Num. xxi. 16) which

¹See Hühn, *op. cit.* p. 172, and Bousset in J. Weiss' *Die Schriften des N.T., in loc.* p. 100.

²T. B. Pesachim 54a, Aboth v. 9.

³*Quod. deter. pot.* 31, Mi., 213 f.: C.W. p. 265 f. §§115, 118.

followed their forefathers. This is our first parallel between Paul's Christ and Philo's Logos. They both identified their Messiah with the rock that gave water to the people of God.¹

The next parallel is the identification of the Logos and the Christ with the *Divine Image*. When Paul speaks of Christ as the Image of God (ii. Cor. iv. 4) we are to understand this expression as the more or less complete manifested representation of the Unseen God. Both Philo and Paul speak of God as invisible. The Christ, like the Logos, is the "Image of God," but in what sense?—not of course in outward appearance, for God cannot be seen (Col. i. 15), but as the ideal representation of the Divine character, energies and capacities. We have seen how the Wisdom of Solomon (vii. 26) describes Wisdom as *the image of the good God*. Now Philo identifies his Logos with this Wisdom, and therefore he also describes the Logos as the *Image of God*.² Paul applies this appellation to Jesus quite definitely in all the various degrees of his manifestation of God, whether in his pre-existent state (Phil. ii. 6) or in that state of heavenly exaltation in which the Apostle believed he had beheld him.

The next important parallel between Paul and Philo is the use of the term "the Second Adam" as a description of the Messiah.³ In Philo there are two

¹The Manna is also identified with the Logos or Messiah by Philo and the New Testament.

²See above, p. 86, note 3, and cf. above, p. 69 f.

³See Siegfried, *op. cit.* p. 242.

Adams; the one created first was the *heavenly Man* or the Logos, whilst the other was the earthly man, who sinned and died. In three passages of the generally accepted Epistles of Paul we find a clearly marked antithesis between Adam, the first man, and the Messiah, who is termed "the Second Adam." The passages are extremely important for the proper understanding of the Pauline Christology. The first reference is to Romans (v. 12-21), where the universal effect of Adam's sin is contrasted with the universal effect of that "one act of righteousness" of the man Jesus. Adam is called a figure of him that was to come (v. 14). Again: "For as through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous" (*ibid.* 19). This doctrine is completely at variance with the simple teaching of the Old Testament, namely, that every man is individually responsible for his own transgressions only. Nowhere in the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures or in the Rabbinic writings do we meet with anything like Paul's soteriological doctrines. He was the first theologian to teach that through the first man¹ "sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned" (*ibid.* 12), and further, that through the righteousness of Jesus eternal life is bestowed upon the world (*ibid.* 17).

¹Cf. the Pharisaic standpoint set forth in the Apocalypse of Baruch (liv. 19), namely that each man is the Adam of his own soul. The teaching of iv. Ezra (vii. 118) to the effect that Adam is the cause of the final perdition of humanity is to be attributed to Christian influence.

In the next Pauline passage (i. Cor. xv. 20-22) the same contrast appears between Adam and the Messiah:-
 "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in the Messiah (or Christ) shall all be made alive."¹
 In both passages the second Adam or the Messiah is the head of a new order of humanity. In the third quotation (i. Cor. xv. 44-49) the thought of the Messiah as a second Adam, or the last Adam which was implied in the previous passages, is definitely enunciated. The text is as follows:—"If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body. So also it is written, The first man Adam became a living soul. The last Adam became a life-giving spirit. Howbeit that is not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; then that which is spiritual. The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is of heaven. As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly."

Paul tries to show that there is a radical difference between the nature of the two Adams, which has a vital bearing on the problem of man's resurrection and future life. He wishes to prove that it is possible for man to exist in two different states, one far higher than the other. He suggests that this fact is indicated by the Old Testament words: "The first man Adam became a

¹i. Cor. xv. 21.

living soul.”¹ He means to imply that the body of the first man became the organ of a *psychical* nature (LXX εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν). This made the first man a living being, but not a *spiritual* being. The second Adam, however, became a life-giving spirit. Paul wishes to convey the idea that the Messiah became the vehicle of a heavenly or spiritual nature. It is only fair to point out that Paul’s quotation does not correspond to the Hebrew text. There is no distinction in the Hebrew between the first man and the last man. The original text does not even speak of Adam as the “first man.”

Let us at once ask whether the terms “the last Adam” and the “second man of Heaven,” used by Paul, were generally known as Messianic titles in Palestinian Jewish circles in the first century C.E.? We shall also inquire whether the idea of an antithesis between Adam and the Messiah, each being the head of a new line of descendants, the one mortal and earthy, the other immortal and heavenly, was known in the contemporary Rabbinic schools in the Holy Land. As we shall see, it has been suggested that Paul was indebted to his Rabbinic training under the famous teacher Gamaliel for these Messianic conceptions.²

¹The LXX of Gen. ii. 7 reads: “And the man became a *living soul*” (נִפְשׁ חַיָּה). In the same verse we find the expression נִשְׁמַח חַיִּים which was translated by πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν (a life-giving spirit) in the version used by Paul. See also Wisdom xv. 11, and cf. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 147 ff. and Vollmer, *op. cit.* p. 55.

²See Moffatt, *Paul and Paulinism*, p. 6, f. and Schiele, *Die rabb. Parallelen zu i. Kor.* xv. 45-50, in *Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol.* 1899, pp. 120 ff.

The real significance conveyed by the designation of Jesus as the second or last Adam is disclosed by the New Testament. The believers in Jesus felt convinced that in Christ they were "a new creation," "partakers of a divine nature" (ii. Cor. v. 17 and ii. P. i. 4). The first Adam had inaugurated the first creation, so now the second Adam had established a new world and a new Kingdom, the Messianic Kingdom. The Messiah of Paul is the Man from Heaven, who is pre-existent (Rom. viii. 3; i. Cor. x. 4, and Gal. iv. 4); the head of every man (i. Cor. xi. 3) and the archetypal ideal. His Divine acts include the creation of the universe (Col. i. 16, 17), the redemption of humanity (Eph. v. 26), the Last Judgment (Rom. xiv. 9, 10), and the restitution or renewal of all things (i. Cor. xv. 24-28).

It will not escape the attention of the reader that this entire Christology is quite independent of the earthly life, work and teaching of the human Jesus. It is not the teacher, not the miracle-worker, not the reformer who plays any part in this Messianic scheme. Paul's Messiah is a celestial spirit, and not a human being. The Christ of John and of the Epistle to the Hebrews is also a portraiture of a Heavenly pre-existent being without flesh and blood. Paul's Messiah is the Risen Lord, the Man from Heaven, the second Adam.

It is an admitted fact that it is not the Jesus of history, but rather the superhuman heavenly Christ of faith that forms the basis of Christian worship.¹ The

¹See Hibbert Journal Supplement (1909), pp. 52 ff, 59 ff, 65 189, 213 and 240 f.

physical man, Jesus, has disappeared and his place has been taken by a metaphysical heaven-exalted being, who bears no likeness to the human teacher of Nazareth. The metaphysical Christ is the sum and substance of the Pauline theology. We have already shown that the terms "Son of Man" and "Son of God" as Messianic titles are quite un-Jewish in their application. "Son of God" in the New Testament has a *personal* and not an official implication.

We shall now consider some other Messianic terms used by Paul. He frequently speaks of Jesus as the *Lord*. Thus in i. Corinthians (viii. 5, 6) we read: "For though there be (such) that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth; as there are gods many and lords many; yet to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him." The passage is very important for a thorough understanding of the nature and office of the Pauline Messiah. As we shall see it is not an isolated text, for it has many parallels in the four chief Epistles and elsewhere in the New Testament.

In the first place, the term "Lord" in this passage implies divinity; Paul does not seem to have been acquainted with the miraculous virgin birth story of Jesus. He teaches that Jesus became the Son of God on the day of his resurrection (Acts xiii. 33). This sonship communicates divinity to Jesus, who is therefore called "Lord." In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus is sometimes addressed as Lord—as a title of respect or

courtesy.¹ In Paul the title is used in the same sense in which the Septuagint uses it of God, and it has the connotation of Godhead. In other words, Paul deliberately applies the Old Testament title of *Adonai* (Κύριος) to the Messiah, whose apostle he claimed to be.

There are many Old Testament passages in the Pauline writings which are intentionally torn from their context and misapplied to the person of the Messiah.² Thus, in the Epistle to the Romans the Apostle to the Gentiles urges his adherents to confess Jesus as Lord (x. 9) in order that they may be saved. He bases this injunction upon a passage in the Book of Joel (ii. 32): "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered." In the mind of this Old Testament prophet there was no idea of a reference to a Messiah in the phrase, "the name of the Lord." In the article on the *Divinity of Christ* in Dr. Hastings' D.C.G., i. p. 477, the writer admits that there is a wide gulf between the the first stage in the New Testament use of the word Lord in the sense of Master or Rabbi, and the use in the Epistles. "The transition was probably effected in Hellenistic circles, and (was) aided by the use of Lord as a title of the Roman Emperor and associated with the divine honours paid to him." This frank admission substantiates the position we have adopted in a previous chapter when we claimed that "Son of God" was applied to the Christian Messiah under the influence of Hellenism. The result of this transference of the title

¹ See Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 268 ff.

² See Garvie, *Life and Teaching of Paul*, p. 131.

"Lord" from God to the Pauline Messiah has been seen in Christian worship. God has been displaced¹ and His transcendence has been unduly emphasized. To Jesus worship is offered, and prayers are only addressed to God through the mediatorship of the Son.

An objection might be raised that as the Greek word for Lord (*Kύριος*) is ambiguous in its meaning and admits of various applications, it is just possible that Paul did not associate with the word the idea of divinity. Now, in reply, we find that Paul never uses the title of Lord for anyone but Jesus or God. In fact he does not discriminate at all in this double usage. Thus he asks concerning God: "Who hath known the mind of the Lord?" (Rom. xi. 34); whereas in the preceding chapter he writes: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord" (*ibid.* x. 9). According to Dr. Adeney, "in the same discussion Paul will pass quite easily from the one application of the title to the other. It would be worse than carelessness to do this if in the one case divinity were implied and in the other case it were excluded. There are times when to Paul the ideas of God and Christ are blended in the title of 'the Lord.' Further, with Paul, Christ is 'our Lord,' 'the Lord of Glory' and 'the Lord of All.'"²

There can be no doubt that Paul united or blended his Messiah with God, and as we shall see, he attributed to Jesus full divinity by declaring him to have been

¹See Hibbert Journal Supplement (1909), pp. 155 ff.

²*The New Testament Doctrine of Christ*, p. 96.

pre-existent, the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation, and the last or second Adam, the Heavenly Man.

We shall examine each term, and endeavour to trace its origin. To discuss in detail the relations between all the ideas involved in these terms is no part of our present task. Nor do we propose here to summarize and comment upon the views of the various writers who have dealt with the Pauline Christology. The best course for us to pursue is to let the texts of the New Testament speak for themselves.

The pre-existence of the Messiah (with whom Paul identifies Jesus) is undoubtedly implied in the following passage: "God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. viii. 3). The writer is clearly speaking here, not of the sending of an earthly or human Messiah, but of the sending forth of a being, who, up to that time, had not been an earthly man. In consequence of this sending, the Son of God took upon himself the form of sinful flesh by being born of a woman and by being placed under the law.¹ He had, therefore, pre-existed up to that time in a state of spiritual or heavenly being; he was till then the Son of God. At this point of time when he was sent forth by God—"though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might become rich" (ii. Cor. viii. 9). "It is," says Pfeiderer, "impossible to refer this to the self-denial of the historical Jesus; the aorist ἐπτάχενσε alone would show this, for it

¹See Feine, *Theologie des N.T.* (2nd. ed.) p. 263 f.

denotes an act done once for all."¹ The argument of Paul may be briefly stated as follows. By abandoning the condition of wealth (*i.e.*, heavenly dignity) in order to enable all who believe in him to participate in the wealth which he had given up, he became poor (*i.e.* he assumed flesh) for a period, and at his resurrection he resumes his heavenly glory and becomes again the Son of God. It is quite impossible to think of any rich state of Jesus during his earthly life, or of any wealth then renounced by him. He refers, according to the Synoptic Gospels, more than once to his material poverty. Bound up with this Pauline teaching is the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the theory of the Kenosis (or emptying) according to which the pre-existent and eternal Son of God divests himself of his heavenly glory and comes to earth by incarnating himself, assuming here on earth the rôle of a servant, and enduring the humiliation as man, with the privations and hardships which the service he contemplated rendering would entail.²

The question at once arises, Where did Paul obtain this doctrine of a pre-existent Messiah, whose heavenly career is interrupted by a brief existence on earth ending in abject humiliation? We are told by innumerable commentators and theologians that Paul drew his Christology from Rabbinic sources. Does not Paul tell us that he had studied under Gamaliel, the famous Rabbi?³ Dr. Adeney refers to Paul's acquaint-

¹*Paulinism*, E. T. i. p.p. 137.

²Cf. Hall, *The Kenotic Theory*, pp. 52 ff.

³Acts xxii. 3.

ance with the Jewish apocalyptic writings: "There he had read of the pre-existing Christ, the heavenly man, a glorious being who was expected to come into the world at God's appointed time."¹ It is to be regretted that the learned writer has not mentioned the names of the apocalyptic books read by Paul. We have already mentioned how unfair it is to refer to *iv. Ezra* and the *Similitudes of Enoch*. Paul is earlier than *iv. Ezra*. The Messianic passages in Enoch have, in all probability, been subjected to Christian interpolation. If we ignore these books, can we point to any apocalyptic writings which Paul might have read? Our answer is in the negative. We therefore ask, Where in Rabbinic literature is there any notion of a Kenosis? Did the Jewish apocalyptic writings mention the incarnation of the Son of God? Is the Messiah of the contemporary Jewish apocalyptic writings "the Lord" or the "Second Adam" or even a suffering Messiah? All this is entirely alien to the contemporary Jewish apocalyptic literature. There is nothing similar to Paul's Messiah in the Rabbinic writings of his age. Again we ask, Where did he find his Messianic doctrine?

The modern Biblical critic is generally inclined to follow the latest theory of Gunkel, Reitzenstein, Alfred Jeremias, or some other eminent authority. The first named scholar holds that a speculation as to the "first man" (*Urmensch*) was not unknown in the earliest stages of Jewish thought. These scholars believe that

¹*Op. cit.* p. 70.

they have discerned in the Old Testament some traces of the ancient myth of the "first man," which had been borrowed by the writers of the Hebrew Bible from some outside source. If the subject we are now considering be somewhat novel, it is nevertheless of the greatest importance. We must try to appreciate the efforts of the great scholars of our own day, who are revealing the secrets of the past. We turn to them in our attempt to discover the origin of the God-man Messiah of Paul and Christianity. It will be of some interest to the reader, who is unable to consult the latest books on the subject (such as Reitzenstein's *Poimandres*, or Clemen's *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*) to have the Old Testament references to the myth of the "first man." Apart from the creation narratives in Genesis, there are two passages which are referred to by the authorities just mentioned. The first passage is in Ezekiel (xxviii. 13f.): "Thou wast in Eden the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering . . . thou wast the anointed cherub . . . thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire." Again, in Job (xv. 7 f.) we read: "Art thou *the first man* that was born? Or wast thou brought forth before the hills? Hast thou heard the secret counsel of God? And dost thou restrain wisdom to thyself?" When we inquire as to the origin of the underlying myth in these passages, we meet with a strange diversity of opinion. Some there are who see in these Old Testament stories reproductions of the

Babylonian myth of Adapa.¹ It is, however, by no means sure that Adapa was the first man according to Babylonian mythology. Dr. Bousset goes so far as to reject any connection between the Adapa myth and the Jewish narratives.²

Dr. Bousset prefers to trace the origin of the "first man" to Parsi mythology, which speaks of the first man appearing in the double form of Gayomard and Yima. Gayomard is to undergo a resurrection in which all the rest of mankind will participate.³ The resurrection is brought about by Sôshyans, who also makes the evil spirit impotent.⁴ It seems very far fetched to trace the Hebrew conception of the "first man" (or that of the Messiah) from Parsi mythology. Whether the Persians may have had some influence on Hebraic theology is not the point under discussion. We are only concerned now with the speculation as to the "first man," and we fail to discover any analogy between the Hebrew and the Parsi stories of the "first man."⁵ The subject is far too intricate to be adequately dealt with in this connection. Whatever be the correct interpretation of the texts quoted from Ezekiel and Job, and whether the Hebrew Bible has borrowed and *spiritualized* Babylonian, Persian or Egyptian myths—the fact remains that there is no proof whatsoever that Paul

¹ See Gunkel, *Genesis*, (2nd ed.) p. 33 ; *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 420 ff., and cf. Clemen, *op. cit.* p. 119.

² Cf. *Religion des Judentums*, p. 407.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, v. p. 123.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33

⁵ The Hebrew narrative knows nothing about the resurrection of the "first man," neither is this a characteristic of the Messiah of the Old Testament.

borrowed his Christology from the Old Testament or from the Rabbinic teaching current in Palestine in the first century of the common era. This brings us back to the real question at issue—the source of Paul's Christology. Reitzenstein, in his scholarly edition of *Poimandres*, has drawn attention to several striking parallels between the Christ of Paul and the First Man described by Poimandres. The great problem is to fix the date of the oldest parts of Poimandres. To say with Reitzenstein that they may belong to the century before, or the century after the time of Jesus, is barely sufficient justification for arguing that Paul was influenced by Poimandres. As a matter of fact, the text as we know it belongs to the end of the third century or to the beginning of the fourth century of the common era. If we may venture to hazard a conjecture as to the nature of the Poimandres literature, we suggest that it belongs to the Egyptian gnosticism and should be classed with the post-Christian writings. It contains Greek and Oriental thought, and has been influenced by Egyptian religious speculations, and also possibly by Jewish and Christian doctrines. If our hypothesis be valid, then we must look for some other source whence Paul obtained his Christology.

Paul was a native of Tarsus, one of the great centres of Hellenism. We know from the New Testament that he combated the gnosticism which flourished in Alexandria.¹ Was it not the most natural

¹See Hastings' D.B. I. p. 124 f.; II. pp. 187 ff.; Friedländer, *Die vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, pp. 14, 37 and the same writer's *Der Antichrist*, pp. 108 ff.

thing for a Hellenistic Jew, such as Paul really was, to absorb the best teaching of Hellenistic Judaism that obtained in his day? Let us not overlook this probability. The books which he read and studied included the Septuagint, the Books of Wisdom and Philo. Most of his quotations from the Old Testament are based on the LXX. There is no evidence to show that he knew or used the original Hebrew text of the Bible. We venture to argue that as Paul was unable to find in the LXX a Christological scheme that included a *pre-existent, eternal Son of God, who is the Heavenly Man, the Second Adam, the Image of God, the Second God, sharing in the creation, and acting as Mediator between man and God*, he gladly made use of the other Hellenistic writings of the Jews, namely, the Books of Wisdom and Philo, where he found in their Logos-Wisdom speculations all that he required for his own Messianic system. We urge once more that the Messiah of Philo is his Logos, and it is chiefly the Logos doctrine of this philosopher which has been used by Paul for his Christology.

It will be urged that all this theory is invalid because modern Christian writers hold that the doctrine of the Messiah was ignored by Philo.¹ Moreover, Dr. Drummond denies that the Logos was Philo's Messiah.² It is also argued that Paul was on Rabbinic lines in speaking of the Christ as a Second Adam.³ We can only put the available evidence before the reader, and

¹Hastings' D.B. ii. 703, and Fairweather, *op. cit.* p. 361.

²*Philo Judæus*, ii. p. 322.

³See Hastings' D.C.G., ii. p. 888; D.B. iii. p. 721 and cf. *ibid.* p. 698.

it must be left to his judgment to decide whether we have established the following points :—(1) Paul knew and used the speculations of the Books of Wisdom and of Philo. (2) That there are no contemporaneous Rabbinic parallels to Paul's Christology, and that any parallels which may be adduced to some particular term or idea are considerably later than the New Testament. (3) That Philo's Logos doctrine contained his Messianic speculation, which arose from his allegorizing method and his attempt to reconcile Jewish thought with Greek philosophy.

Let us now turn our attention to the Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. i. p. 181 f., which attempts to explain Paul's Second Adam by a Midrash found in the Midrash Rabboth, Gen. (viii. 1), written many centuries *after* the time of Paul. It seems most improbable that Paul should have known this Rabbinic tradition, which, as we shall show, does not at all agree with his speculations. The Jewish Encyclopedia calls it an "old Midrash," but there is no date available to justify this description. It would be more correct to say that it is a *late* Midrash compared with Paul, because it was expounded by R. Simeon ben Lakish (c. 250 c.e.). The Midrash runs :—"Thou hast formed me behind and before' (Ps. cxxxix. 5). (This) is to be explained 'before the first and after the last day of Creation.'¹ For it is said, 'And the Spirit of God moved upon the

¹See Bacher *Die Agada d. Pal. Am.* i. p. 413, cf. *Tanchuma*, Buber, *Tzasria* 2, and *Lev. Rab.* xiv. 1, which says : "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the water" that is the spirit of King Messiah.

face of the waters,' meaning the spirit of the Messiah¹ [the spirit of Adam, in the parallel passage, Midrash Teh. to Ps. cxxxix. 5; both readings are essentially the same], of whom it is said (Is. xi. 2), 'And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him.' This contains the kernel of Philo's philosophical doctrine of the creation of the original man. He calls him the idea of the earthly Adam, while with the Rabbis the רוּחַ (אָדָם) (Spirit of Adam) not only existed before the creation of the earthly Adam, *but was pre-existent to the whole of creation*.² From the pre-existing Adam, or Messiah, to the Logos is merely a step.

The above-quoted Midrash is even of greater importance for the understanding of the Pauline Christology, as affording the key to Paul's doctrine of the first and second Adam. . . . God created a heavenly Adam in the spiritual world and an earthly one of clay for the material world. The earthly Adam came first into view, although created last. The first Adam was of flesh and blood, and therefore subject to death—merely "a living soul"; the second Adam was "a life-giving spirit"—a spirit whose body, like the heavenly beings in general, was only of a spiritual nature. The apparently insuperable difficulty of the Pauline Christology which

¹R. Simeon b. Lakish also identified "Tohu" (Gen. 1, 2) with Babylon, "Bohu" (*ibid.*) with Media, "darkness" (*ibid.*) with the kingdom of the Greeks and the "deep" (*ibid.*) with the impious kingdom (Rome), see *Gen. Rab.* ii. 4.

²The Rabbis never taught that the spirit of Adam was pre-existent to the *whole of creation*. They believed that prior to the creation of Adam recorded in Gen. i., there had been many attempts on the part of God to create the universe, see my *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, p. 199, note 1.

confronts the expounders of the New Testament (see, for instance, Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neu-Testamentlichen Theologie*, ii. p. 75 ff.) disappears entirely when reference is made to the Midrash. As a pupil of Gamaliel, Paul simply operates with conceptions familiar to the Palestinian theologians. *Messiah*, as the Midrash remarks, *is*, on the one hand, *the first Adam*, *the original man who existed before Creation*, his spirit being already present. On the other hand, he is also the second Adam¹ in so far as his bodily appearance followed the Creation, and inasmuch as, according to to the flesh, he is of the posterity of Adam. Paul, therefore, has not depended upon Philo for his Christology as most scholars hold; indeed, he differs from him on most essential points. With Philo the original man is an idea. With Paul he (the original man) is the personality of Jesus.² With Philo the first man is the original man; Paul identifies the original man with the second Adam." Thus far the Jewish Encyclopedia.

The writer has constructed a very plausible argument; but if we examine it, we shall find that it has no foundation, because he admits in his next sentence that the Palestinian theology was indebted to Alexandria for the theory of pre-existence. This is of fundamental importance; the Jewish Messiah is not a pre-existing being, but a descendant of David.

¹Note how the first Adam is identified here with the second Adam—a notion quite alien to the teaching of Paul and Philo.

²It must not be forgotten that Paul never knew Jesus as a person and declared that he did not wish to know him "after the flesh" (ii. Cor. v. 16).

Paul's Messiah, who was not a descendant of David, is identified with Philo's pre-existing Logos. Again, Dr. Ginzberg, who is the author of this article in the Jewish Encyclopedia, contradicts himself in several points. He argues (p. 182a) that with Philo the original man is an idea; but on the previous page (181a) he had stated that the original man of Philo was neither "man nor woman," which is to be explained by the notion that *the original man was an Androgynos* according to the Rabbis." This very word "Androgynos" is Greek, and betrays at once its origin. He also adds: "It has been said that the Midrash already speaks of the spirit of the *first Adam* or of the *Messiah*, without however absolutely identifying *Adam and Messiah*"; nevertheless, the whole of Dr. Ginzberg's argument is based on the assumption that Adam is identified by the Midrash with the Messiah, which he himself admits has no sure foundation.¹ He also acknowledges that Philo was the first to use the expression "original man" or "heavenly man" as being born in the image of God, with "no participation in any corruptible or earth-like substance" which belongs to the earthly man.² In Philo we find an absolute distinction between the two classes of

¹He has already urged that the Messiah is the First Adam according to the Midrash; this is a mere assumption. The Midrash does not say that the Spirit of the Messiah or of Adam was "pre-existent to the *whole of Creation*." The spirit was moving upon the face of the deep, *i.e.* after the beginning of creation, for the deep was part of the creation.

²See *de Leg. Alleg.* i. xii., Mi. 49: C.W. i. p. 58 §31.

men.¹ One is heavenly, the other is earthly. Indeed, according to the Rabbis, *the spirit of the earthly Adam* existed before the creation of the man Adam.² But the Midrash does not speak at all about the creation of the Heavenly Adam as opposed to the earthly Adam. This is Philo's original thought and is unknown to the Midrash. If the *late* Midrash explains the text: "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" as referring to the *spirit* of the Messiah, where do we find in Rabbinic literature of the first century that the Messiah is the first Adam? This is really the crucial question. Dr. Ginzberg suggests that this was taught to Paul by Gamaliel, but all this is clever guess-work. The Midrash does not say that the Messiah is the first Adam. It is also not quite fair to place a variant reading in the very late Midrash on the Psalms in the mouth of Gamaliel.³

Wetstein, Lightfoot and other eminent Hebraists, who have ransacked the Rabbinic literature for parallels to the New Testament, were wise in ignoring this Midrash. It cannot be regarded as a legitimate parallel to Philo's teaching, nor does it afford a key to

¹This is also Paul's view. The only difference between Philo and Paul lies in the order (see i. Cor. xv. 45 f.). In point of time the first man was Adam, who sinned and is therefore earthly or natural. The Messiah was held by Paul to be sinless and therefore of a spiritual or heavenly nature and in point of time *after* Adam and therefore the second Adam.

²According to Rabbinic teaching the soul of every human being exists prior to the creation of the body, see T. B. Chagiga, 12 b.

³It is equally unfair to combine from the variant readings the notion that Adam = Messiah

Paul's Christology. On one other point we disagree with Dr. Ginzberg, who said that most scholars hold that Paul was dependent upon Philo for his Christology. This is by no means the case. Nearly all the New Testament commentators, especially of the English School, have assumed that Paul's description of Jesus as the second Adam was a common Rabbinic title for the Messiah. They generally refer to Schöttgen: thus the late Dean Stanley, in his Commentary on i. Cor., p. 316, points to the "Rabbinical doctrine that Christ was the second Adam." . . . "The last Adam is the Messiah." This last quotation is said to be from a book called "Nevê Shalom," p. 160 b.¹ The author of this book, R. Abraham ben Isaac Shalom, who died in 1492, writes as follows:—"The Messiah will be the *last* to remove sin . . . He will be higher than Moses, higher than the ministering angels . . . and the old sin, by which death has been introduced, will be abolished by him . . . This was the divine intention at the creation of man, that he should be eternal, but sin occasioned death. Now the divine intention will be fulfilled by King Messiah, who is the antitype of the first Adam." Such modern scholars as Sanday and Headlam² speak of "the Rabbinical designation of the Messiah as the second or the last Adam." Again, Mr. H. A. A. Kennedy writes:—"He (Paul) was evidently versed in that Adam theology which seems

¹Also quoted by C. F. G. Heinrici, *Der erste Brief an die Korinthen* (Meyer's Commentary) 1896, p. 496.

²*Romans*, p. 136.

to have been current in the Rabbinic schools of the day."¹

In the well-known book of Mr. H. St. John Thackeray, entitled "The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought," an attempt is made to deal with the questions which now confront us. Mr. Thackeray points out that "it has hitherto been assumed by nearly *all* commentators that Paul, in describing Christ as a second Adam was using a common Rabbinic title for the Messiah" (p. 41). After examining the evidence adduced by Weber, Schiele and Moore, Mr. Thackeray admits that this assumption rests on a very slender foundation. The ordinary interpretation is based on Rabbinic passages that belong to the Middle Ages, and have been influenced by the Kabbala.² There are, however, not a few German critics who hold the view that in Paul's second Adam we have a form of Philo's teaching. Philo is acknowledged to be older than the Jewish traditions of a first and last Adam. What Paul did was probably to combine Philo's idea of an archetypal man whose creation is described in Genesis i. with the doctrine of the pre-existence of the Messiah, which had already been foreshadowed in the Greek Books of Wisdom. This theory is favoured by Holtzmann, Schmiedel, Siegfried and Schiele.

Philo and Paul both speak of the ideal and

¹*St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, p. 310.

²Christianity has also left its mark on some of this mediaeval literature of Israel.

heavenly Adam as the image of God, and as imperishable or eternal. Therefore the Christ of Paul (who is also the heavenly Adam) overcomes death because he is eternal. We should also note that Philo anticipates Paul by making a division of mankind into two classes: (1) Men who live by the divine spirit, they are the Pneumatics. (2) Men who follow the flesh, they are the Psychics. These men are earthy, whereas the other men, the Pneumatics, are the accurate copy of the divine image, the Logos, or the Christ. It is extremely doubtful whether the Jews in the time of Paul believed in the doctrine of the pre-existence of the Messiah. The orthodox Jews of Palestine certainly did not. "The early Rabbinic doctrine," says Mr. Thackeray (p. 47), "seems merely to have taught an ideal, not a real pre-existence of the Messiah, that is to say, he pre-existed in the sense that his coming had from eternity been divinely predestined and prepared."¹ The pseud-epigraphic writings do not differ very considerably from the Rabbinic doctrine just described. The Book of Enoch stands alone in teaching a real pre-existence.² The Messiah is there said to have been chosen, hidden and preserved and his name to have been named before the creation of the world.

The question arises—Is this perhaps a post-Christian interpolation? Whatever be the answer to this question, it would be unfair to assume that Palestinian Jewish

¹See Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 355 and Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 129-133.

²See especially ch. xlviii. 1-7 with Dr. Charles' note, and also ch. lxii. 7, but see above, pp. 13 ff.

thought in the time of Paul included this doctrine of the pre-existence of the Messiah merely on the strength of a single passage in the Jewish apocalyptic writings. The use of the phrase "the anointed whom the Most High had reserved for the end"¹ expresses only the divine predestination of the Messiah.

We submit that the Pauline Messiah had its roots in the speculations of Philo and the Jewish Hellenistic literature. We have already seen² that Paul refers to Christ as the *image* of God (ii. Cor. iv. 4), and this expression εἰκόν is a common term in Philo, as applied not only to "man made in the image of God," but as applied also to the Logos.³ In one passage the Logos is called by Philo⁴ the image and angel of God, for the sake of enabling men to learn the truth about God. In Col. i. 15-23, Christ is represented as the *image* of the invisible God—"the idea" says the Westminster New Testament *in loc.*, "is that He is not merely like God, but that He is God manifest." He is also called the first-born in this Epistle, and the commentary just quoted tells us that: "Among the Jews the word (first-born) was one of the titles of the Messiah. The Rabbis interpreted *first-born* in Ps. lxxxix. 27, as Messianic." It can hardly be doubted that the Pauline designation of the Messiah as the *first-born* and the

¹*iv. Esd.* xii. 32 and cf. xiii. 26. Box, *The Ezra Apocalypse*, pp. 273, 293 urges that the pre-existent heavenly Messiah is referred to in these contexts.

²See above, p. 88.

³*De Plant.* §xi. Mi. 336 : C. W. ii. p. 133, §44, and Drummond, *op. cit.* ii. p. 187, and cf. *Wisdom* vii. 26.

⁴*De Somn.* i. xli. Mi. 656 : C. W. iii. p. 237, §239.

image of God is based on Philo's interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis. If this be the case, is it not probable that Paul also borrowed the other terms for his Messiah from Philo's categories of the Logos? We are now confronted by the question—Is any connection to be traced between the teaching of Philo as to the first and second man and Paul's first and last Adam?

Philo writes:—"The races of men are two-fold, for one is the heavenly man and the other the earthly man. Now the heavenly man, as being born in the image of God, has no participation in any corruptible or earth-like substance.¹ Elsewhere Philo draws a distinction between the first man made in the image of God and the man generated now. The former was an idea or a genus, perceptible only by the intellect, incorporeal, neither male nor female, imperishable by nature; whereas the latter (ordinary men) consist of body and soul, by nature mortal.²

Schmiedel, in Holtzmann's Commentary on i. Cor. xv. 45, says that the Rabbinic designation of the Messiah אדם האחרון (the last Adam) was present to Paul's mind although there is no proof available at present that this was a contemporary term. Surely, then, it is more logical to argue from that which we know to be positive and established, and therefore we must consider that Philo is the source of this Messianic category. The reasons why Philo's parallel is not

¹ *De Leg. Alleg.* i. xii. Mi. 49: C. W. i. p. 58, §31.

² *De Opif. Mundi*, xlv. Mi. 32: C. W. i. p. 38 §134, see also Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 284 and Drummond, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

accepted by Schmiedel and other commentators¹ are as follows:- (a) Philo's first Adam is Paul's last Adam;² (b) Philo's first Adam is identified with the Logos, whereas Paul's last Adam is identified with the Christ; (c) Paul's first and last Adams are associated with historical personages, whereas Philo is merely contrasting the ideal with the actual man. In reply to all this, we would urge that Paul's last Adam is really the same as Philo's first Adam, because the last Adam or the Christ is assumed by Paul to have been pre-existent and, therefore, is identical with Philo's ideal pre-existent archetypal man. Secondly, it is true that Philo's heavenly or first Adam is identified with the Logos, but Paul's heavenly man or last Adam is also identified with the Logos by the Fourth Gospel and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and finally, it is a debatable point whether Paul is concerned at all with the historical Jesus in his Christology.³ Dr. Wendland⁴ observes that when the Logos doctrine gains the dominant place it overshadows the Messiah theology; this clearly applies to the Pauline doctrine of Christ, which overshadows the historical life and teaching of Jesus.

Philo writes:—"So that the race of mankind is two-fold; the one being the race of those who live by the divine *spirit* (*πνεῦμα*) and reason, the other of those who exist according to blood and the pleasure of

¹See Hastings' D.C.G., ii. p. 51 a.

²See above, p. 107, note 1.

³See Brückner, *Die Entstehung der Paulinischen Christologie* pp. 63 ff.

⁴*Op. cit.* p. 143.

the *flesh*. This species is formed of the earth, but that other is an accurate copy of the Divine Image.¹ Paul also divides men into those of the *spirit* and those of the body or *flesh* (Rom. viii. 3 ff.).

Philo continues: "For there are, as it seems, two temples of God; one being this world, in which the High Priest is the Divine Logos, His own first-born son; the other is the rational soul, the priest of which is the true man, whose perceptible representation is he who offers his ancestral prayers and sacrifices; to whom it is enjoined to put on the aforesaid tunic, the representation of the universal Heaven, in order that the world may join with the man in offering sacrifice, and that the man may likewise co-operate with the universe."²

"For we say that the High Priest is not a man, but the Divine Logos. . . ."³

"For God is his Father (who is also the Father of all things) and Wisdom is his Mother; through whom the Universe came into being; and also because he is anointed with oil, by which I mean that the principal part of him is illuminated with a light like the beams of the sun, so as to be thought worthy to be clothed with garments. And the most ancient Logos of the living God is clothed by the world as with a garment For the Logos of the living God is the bond of everything, holding all things together and

¹*Quis rer. div. h.* 12, Mi. 481; C. W. iii. p. 11, §57.

²*De Somn.* i. 37, Mi. p. 653; C. W. iii. p. 233, §215.

³*De Profugis*, 20, Mi., p. 562.

binding all the parts, and prevents them from being dissolved and separated."¹

These few passages afford several parallel thoughts to the Pauline and New Testament Messianic idea. We have already mentioned² the remarkable application on the part of the New Testament writers of Philo's theory that the Messiah is the High Priest. The only other pre-Christian book in which this idea occurs is the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.³

Philo's Logos or Messiah has God for his Father and Wisdom for his Mother. As we have already seen, the Book of Wisdom identifies Wisdom with the Holy Spirit;⁴ it is therefore on the Philonian scheme of the Wisdom-Logos-Messiah that the "*Gospel according to the Hebrews*," Fragment 2, speaks as follows of the flight of Jesus to Mount Tabor: "The Holy Spirit, my Mother . . . carried me away to the high Mount Tabor."⁵

According to Philo the Universe arrived at creation through the Logos, who is also the bond holding all things together. This description of the Logos reappears in the New Testament. The Christ not only creates the universe, but he also holds it together. I Cor. viii. 6 teaches that Creation is due to the Christ. He is the goal as well as the explanation of all creation.

¹*Ibid.*

²See above, p. 81.

³Test. *Reub.* vi. 8 and Test. *Levi* viii. 14; see Charles' introduction, p. xcvi. Schnapp in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen* pp. 463, 467 regards these passages as Christian interpolations.

⁴See above, p. 72.

⁵See Hennecke's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, p. 19.

He is the bond which holds the whole fabric of men and things together. This is the doctrine of the Divine immanence (Col. i. 17), and sets forth Christ as the eternally existent Creative Principle in all things.¹

There is just one more parallel between Philo and Paul in the Philonian description of the Logos which we have been considering. Philo describes the Logos as illuminated with a light like the beams of the sun. The Christ seen by Paul is described in Acts (xxvi. 13) as "a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun." Such parallels are not to be attributed to chance, or to Paul's acquaintance with Midrashic teaching, such as was taught in the school of Gamaliel. The Messianic doctrines in the Palestinian schools in the time of Paul were on entirely different lines. The Rabbis opposed the mythologizing influence which they detected in the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature of Jewish Hellenism. They apprehended the danger to pure monotheism that was bound to ensue, if they countenanced the teaching of the Alexandrine school. "The redemptive mission of Wisdom (Wisd. ix. 17 f.) develops into an unmistakable avatar doctrine, wherein Wisdom becomes incarnate, and dwells among men,² or even descends to the underworld to "visit all that sleep, and shine upon all that hope in the Lord."³ Rejected by men, she ascends again to her seat in heaven (Enoch

¹Hastings' D.C.G., i. 382.

²*Bar.* iii. 37, cf. *Oxyrh. Frags. Log.* iii.

³*Sir.* xxiv. 32, Lat.; cf. *pseudo-Isaiah*, ap. Iren. *Haer.* 111, xx. 4 and Eph. v. 14.

xlii. 1), whence she returns to be poured out upon the elect in the Messianic age" (*ibid.* xlix. 1).¹

The rivalry of Church and Synagogue which arose in Palestine after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. was marked by the hostility displayed by the Pharisaic teachers towards the Wisdom-Logos-Christ literature and doctrines. From this period onward, the Rabbis rigidly restricted the personification of the Logos-Wisdom to the Torah.² All kinds of speculation (Ma'aseh Bereshith and Ma'aseh Merkabah) as well as the reading of non-canonical books were rigidly suppressed.³

To return to Philo: "Why, then, do we any longer wonder, if God at times assumes the likeness of the angels, as He sometimes assumes the likeness of men for as those who are not able to see the sun itself, look upon the reflected rays of the sun as the sun itself so also do those who are unable to bear the sight of God, look upon His image, His angel Logos, as upon Himself."⁴

¹D.C.G. ii. p. 825. Here is a pre-Christian Jewish scheme involving (1) incarnation, (2) descent into Hades and (3) ascension. This scheme was transferred to the Christ of the New Testament, which also speaks of (1) the incarnation (John i. 14-18); (2) the descent into Hades (Rom. x. 7; Eph. iv. 9) and (3) the ascension (Acts i. 1-12).

²Aboth, iii. 14 and vi. 10.

³The influence of the Logos doctrines may be traced in the cult of Michael who is not only the chief of the Angels, but also the heavenly High Priest, the intercessor on behalf of man and the vanquisher of the Antichrist. The mystical literature of the Jews (e.g. the Zohar) has been greatly influenced by the Logos doctrines.

⁴*De Somn.* i. xli. Mi. 656; C.W. iii. p. 237 §§238, 239

Paul's Christ is God, who assumed the likeness of man ; and all who look upon him, behold the glory of God. This is exactly what Philo says of the Logos.

In another passage Philo writes : "(And Moses) also speaks most carefully, not representing the man who was made after God's own image, but the man who was formed of clay, as the one who was placed in the Paradise. For the one who was impressed with the spirit (*πνεῦμα*) after the image of God, does, as it appears to me, in no respect differ from the tree which bore the fruit of immortal life. For they are both incorruptible and have both been thought worthy of the most central position and most sovereign portion, for it is said that "the tree of life is in the midst of Paradise" (Gen. ii. 9).¹

Here we have the earthly man contrasted with the spiritual man. The mark of the latter is disclosed by three characteristics : (1) He is made in the image of God : (2) he is stamped with the spirit of God : and (3) he is incorruptible and is like the tree which bore the fruit of everlasting life. The Christ of Paul and the other New Testament writers possesses all these categories. John describes the Logos-Christ as "the spirit of truth" (xiv. 17).² Reitzenstein³ points out that even Egyptian theology had crowned the god Thoth with the attribute of the eternal truth of the Logos. We have already seen how the New Testament has spoken

¹*De Plant.* xi. Mi. 337: C.W. ii. p. 133 §44 and cf. *Wisd.* vii. 26.

²See Hastings' D.C.G. i. p. 742 a, and cf. John iii. 6.

³*Zwei religionsgesch. Fragen*, pp. 56, 80 f.

of the Christ as being the Image of God and as being eternal or immortal. The comparison with the tree of everlasting life has also its parallel in the New Testament, where the Christ is called the Vine (Jn. xv. 1-10), and all who believe in him will enjoy eternal life.

Can there be the least doubt that in the following passage Philo is referring to the doctrine of the Messiah?

“For there is a two-fold kind of Dayspring (ἀνατολή) in the soul, the one of a better sort, the other of a worse sort

“And God planted a Paradise in Eden, towards the *Dayspring*” (Gen. ii. 8) not of terrestrial plants but of celestial virtues, which the Planter caused to spring up from the incorporeal light which exists around Him, in such a way as to be for ever inextinguishable. I have also heard of one of the companions of Moses having uttered such a speech as this: “Behold a man whose name is the *Dayspring*” (Zech. vi. 12). A very strange appellation indeed, if you consider it as spoken of a man who is compounded of body and soul; but if you look upon it as applied to that incorporeal man who in no respects differs from the Divine Image, you will agree that the name of *Dayspring* has been given to him most appropriately. For the Father of the Universe has caused him to spring up as His *eldest son*, whom, in another passage, he named the *First-born*: and he who is thus born, imitating the ways of the Father, has

formed such and such species looking to his archetypal patterns."¹

Paul's Messiah is also called the *First-born* (Ro. viii. 29 and Col. i. 15 and 18.)

Again, Philo refers to the Logos as the great Archangel² of many names, for he is called the Beginning (ἀρχή) and the Name of God.³ Paul lays great stress on the headship of the Christ (I. Cor. xi. 3). In Revelations (iii. 14) Jesus is called the "Beginning."

The Logos of Philo is also a Mediator between God and the World. Concerning its mediating position he says:

"The Father who generated the universe gave a special gift to the Archangel, the most ancient Logos, that standing on the borders it should separate the created from the Creator And it exults in the gift saying, 'And I stood between the Lord and you' (Deut. v. 5), being neither unbegotten as God nor begotten as you, but in the middle between the extremes, serving as a pledge to both; on the side of Him who planted, for a security that the race will never wholly vanish and depart and on the side of that which has grown, for a good ground of hope that the propitious God will never

¹ *De Confus. Ling.* 14, Mi. p. 414; C.W. ii. pp. 230 f. §§60-63. Philo identifies here the Logos with the Jewish Messiah מָשִׁיחַ (ἀνατολή). This title (ἀνατολή) is applied to the Christ of the New Testament in Luke i. 78, see also Targum to Zech. vi. 12 and to Isaiah iv. 2, where מָשִׁיחַ is referred to the Messiah.

² See i. Thess. iv. 16 where the "Archangel" is associated with the Christ.

³ *De Confus. Ling.* xxviii. Mi. p. 426; C.W. ii. p. 247 §146.

overlook His own work."¹ The mediatorship of the New Testament Christ is fundamental to its teaching.²

If these many instances of similar ideas and functions which belong to Philo's Logos as well as to the New Testament Messiah have not convinced the reader of the dependence of the New Testament upon Philo and his sources (LXX and the Books of Wisdom) it would be futile to add to the illustrations we have already adduced. Suffice it to say that we have by no means exhausted the list of parallels.

We will leave the specific doctrine of the New Testament Messiah in order to draw attention to a few remarkable parallels between Philo and the historical life and work attributed to Jesus in the Gospels.

We have discussed at length in our first chapter the influence to be attributed to Hellenism in accounting for the Nativity stories in the Gospels. Philo is, to a certain extent, under the spell of Hellenistic ideas when he seeks to show that it was God who made Sarah, Leah, Rebecca and Zipporah, to be fruitful. Though this does not teach Virgin-birth, it certainly teaches Divine generation. True, Philo designates this doctrine a mystery or a sacred revelation, in other words, something quite new.³

Attention has been drawn by the present writer to the many parallels to the Sermon on the Mount which are to be found in Philo, in the *Jewish Sources*

¹*Quis rer. div. h.* 42, Mi. 501-2: C.W. iii. p. 39 §§205 f.

²Gal. iii. 13, and see Hastings' D.C.G. ii., *sub. voc.*, Mediator.

³See *De Cherub.* 13, Mi. 180 f: C.W. i. p. 179 §§44 ff.

of the *Sermon on the Mount*. There are one or two points which have not been discussed in this book. Several times Jesus says: "But I say unto you." This is explained as a token of the authority vested in Jesus. The Rabbis were accustomed to say—Such a tradition have I received from my master. Philo has the very phrase used by Jesus: "But I say unto you."¹

Paul repeats the formula in Gal. v. 2.

Philo was as keen on the purity of the moral life of man as Jesus. The well-known words of the Sermon: "And if thy right eye causeth thee to stumble, pluck it out and cast it from thee" (Mt. v. 29), have their parallel in Philo: "It seems to me," he writes, "that those who are not entirely uneducated would rather be blinded than see things which they ought not, be deafened than hear injurious words, and have their tongue cut out to prevent them from giving utterance to anything that ought not to be spoken."² Both teachers prefer blindness to seeing wickedness.

We have shown elsewhere³ how Luke was indebted to Philo for his Parable of the Prodigal Son. Finally, the Story of the Crucifixion has a very close parallel in Philo, to which attention has been drawn in the Preface to the *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*. The Barabbas of the Gospels is due to the Karababas of Philo.

¹ *Quod det. pot.* 43 Mi. 221 : C.W. i. p. 275, §158.

² *Ibid.* 48, Mi. 224 : C.W. i. p. 279 §175.

³ *The Grace of God*, pp. 24 ff.

What is the position of Philo with reference to Judaism? This question must be briefly answered in view of the extraordinary statements in Mr. Norman Bentwich's book on Philo. This scholar (p. 8) tells us that "The favour which the Church Fathers showed to his writings induced and was balanced by the neglect of the Rabbis." This is hardly consistent with historical facts. The Rabbis combated the Philonian philosophy long before any of the Church Fathers lived. When the latter found how hostile the Rabbis were to Philo they turned to his writings for apologetic purposes.

To say that "Philo's thought is through and through Jewish" is to call Greek Hebrew.¹ Philo's entire philosophy is un-Jewish. His doctrine of the Logos is Greek. Unlike the teaching of the Torah of a *creatio ex nihilo*, he speaks of a creation out of $\mu\eta\ \acute{o}\nu$ (formless matter) just as Plato had taught. Philo was probably ignorant of Hebrew and never refers to the great declaration of the Jewish Faith.—"Hear O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is one." I am unable to accept Mr. Bentwich's view that "Jewish influences throughout are the determining element of Philo's teaching" (p. [189]). We have to admit that Greek influences were the determining factor that produced his theology and philosophy. If Mr. Bentwich had examined in detail the doctrine of the Logos, even allowing for possible interpolations on the part of the Church, it

¹See Siegfried, *op. cit.* p. 159 and Hastings' D.C.G. i. p. 796a (which states: "Philo's idea of God is Jewish only in name. It is essentially Greek").

would be very hard to defend his position—that Philo's theology "was essentially true to Judaism" (p. 166).

Philo attempted the impossible when he tried to reconcile Jewish theology with Greek philosophy. Plato was as great a master to Philo as Moses. Moreover, Philo only knew the Septuagint, which he believed to be inspired. His entire thought is more Greek than Jewish. He tries to fit Greek ideas into the Jewish Scriptures. What he reads out of the Bible is more often Greek philosophy instead of Hebrew Religion.

Mr. Bentwich does not question the following words of Philo, "The Logos is the God of us imperfect people, but the true sages worship the One Being" (L.A. iii. 73). This is typical of Philo's teaching. How can we speak of such teaching as Jewish? Shall we be unjust in denying Mr. Bentwich's dictum: "Philo's theology is essentially true to Judaism"? It was essentially opposed to Monotheism and the entire Jewish idea of God.

It would not, however, be right to charge Philo with disloyalty to Judaism. His motive was undoubtedly genuine. He desired to defend his Faith and to give the best of the Judaism which he knew and loved to the heathen Greeks in whose midst he lived. He was a good Hellenistic Jew, but like the Liberal Jews of to-day he was more liberal than a traditional and historical religion, such as Judaism, could possibly admit; if it was not to be weakened by alliance with teaching hostile to the eternal facts on which it is based.

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CHAPTER V.

THE "SON OF GOD" WHO DIES AND COMES TO LIFE AGAIN.

IN the Pauline documents, which are the earliest sources of Christianity, the Messiah is the pre-existent Man from Heaven, who had existed there in the form of God, and had descended to earth by a voluntary act of self-humiliation and self-sacrifice. He is before and above all things. Through him all things exist. He is called "Son of God." He is the archetype and divinely constituted head of humanity, who in this capacity was primevally Lord of the human creation. This divine Messiah suffers death as a vicarious atonement and proves his Messiahship by his resurrection. The Christ of Paul is not a man but a pure Divine personality, a heavenly spirit without flesh and blood. Paul identifies the Christ with the Holy Spirit.¹ The Christ is the "Son of God" made manifest in the Apostle to the Gentiles.

We have already observed that one of the most characteristic features of Hellenism was the deification of men, such as kings, philosophers, teachers and brave

¹See Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, p. 100, and Schmiedel, *Handcommentar* z. N. T. II. i. p. 192.

citizens who had saved their towns from some danger. Throughout the civilized world of the Hellenistic period, except in Jewish circles, this deification was a matter of everyday occurrence.

Jesus as Messiah was held to be King of the Jews. He died as the King of the Jews, nay, this very title was inscribed by Pilate on the Cross. Was it not quite natural for any Hellenistic writer—except a true Jew—to speak of this king as a “Son of God”?¹ Moreover, in accordance with Greek myths, his mother is said to have been with the Lord (Luke i. 28), and their son was to be called “the Son of the Most High.” In Matthew (i. 18) the story is somewhat different:—“Now the birth of Jesus was in this wise: When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.” The same story, as we read in the Gospels, was told of the father of Plato, who was also warned in a dream by the God Apollo not to touch his wife, until she had brought forth her divine son.² A similar myth was also current concerning Philip of Macedon and his wife who bore Alexander the Great.³ If further proof were required as to the influence of Hellenism in the Gospels, we could point out heathen parallels to the story of the star (Mt. ii. 1-12), the visit of the Magi, and the slaughter of the babes in Bethlehem. There is nothing Jewish or Rabbinic in

¹See above, pp. 34, 48.

²Cf. Matthew i. 20.

³See H. Usener *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* p. 69ff.

these narratives. Likewise, as we hope to demonstrate, the *whole* of Paul's conception of the Heavenly pre-existent Son of God who dies and comes to life again, is un-Jewish.

It is somewhat amusing to see to what straits the modern Christian theologians are put, in order to find Rabbinic parallels to the New Testament narrative. Thus Dr. Paul Feine writes :¹ " In the later Jewish theology the thought of the heavenly pre-existence of the Messiah is not unknown, although it plays no important part. It occurs in the *Similitudes of Enoch*, and in *iv. Ezra*, and only again in the supplement (Anhang) to the *Pesikta Rabbati* (of the seventh or eighth century)." We need not discuss again the value of citing *Enoch* or *iv. Ezra* to illustrate the Messianic idea of the Jews in the days of Jesus.² It is equally futile to refer to the *Pesikta Rabbati*, which is so much later. Dr Sanday tells us³ that "Paul was thoroughly Semitic"; this is hardly warranted by the theology of his Epistles. Why was the Pauline Christology rejected by the Jews, if not for the very simple reason that the spirit of Hellenism was so patent in every aspect of the exposition of the Apostle to the Gentiles. Paul's success among the Heathens was clearly due to the fact that he was able to bring them a religious system in conformity with their heathen notions.

It would be very difficult to justify Dr. Sanday's

¹ *Paulus als Theologe*, 1906, p. 50.

² See above pp. 14 ff.

³ Hastings' D.C.G. ii. p. 889 ff.

view that Paul had at his command all the accumulated material (of the Rabbinical and apocalyptic teaching of his contemporaries).¹ Paul's metaphysics and theology are not to be traced to his Pharisaic training. We cannot endorse Dr. Harnack's judgment, "Notwithstanding Paul's Greek culture, his conception of Christianity is, in its deepest ground, independent of Hellenism."² Pfeleiderer spoke of a double root of Paulinism in "Pharisaic theology and Hellenistic theosophy, of two sides presented by the apostle's teaching—'a Christianized Pharisaism,' embodied in the doctrine of justification by faith, and 'a Christianized Hellenism' in the doctrine of salvation by the risen, celestial Christ and the operation of the Holy Spirit."³ This is nearer the truth, but how much of genuine Pharisaism is there in Paul's doctrine of justification by faith? There is very little in common between the "Faith" of the Old Testament or of the Palestinian Rabbis and the Pauline "Faith."⁴

Dr. Gunkel tells us "that before (the time of) Jesus there was a belief in Christ's (i.e. the Messiah's) death and resurrection current in Jewish syncretic circles."⁵ In other words we are asked to believe, on the authority of Dr. Gunkel, that the idea of a dying Messiah, who rises again from the dead, was already known in Jewish

¹ See also Deissmann, *Paulus*, (1911), p. 73.

² See also Harnack, *Die Mission*, i. p. 415.

³ *Urchristentum*, (1st. ed.) pp. 174-8.

⁴ See Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1888, pp. 310 ff., compare Hart, *The Hope of Catholick Judaism*, pp. 16 ff., and see Schlatter, *Der Glaube im N.T.*, pp. 327 ff.

⁵ *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des N.T.* p. 82.

syncretic circles *before* the time of Jesus. If we require proof we must turn to Dr. Gunkel's book. He urges that the idea of a *dying god*, who rises to life eternal, was conveyed to the first disciples of Jesus through Judaism. He observes: "This is not so impossible as might appear at first thought, *iv. Ezra vii. 29* tells also of the death of the Christ."¹ Further the Old Testament speaks of "a being, who is greater than Moses and Joshua, destined to lead back the people (of Israel) and to restore their kingdom, and at the same time bringing God's religion to all the heathens. This mysterious person had appeared long ago, but remained unknown; he died in shame but will rise again in glory."²

Thus far Dr. Gunkel, whose interesting statement is apparently fortified by several Old Testament references (Isaiah xlix. 6, 8; and liii.). Our reading of the prophet Isaiah leads us to see in this "mysterious person" none other than Israel. The prophet tells us in the very chapter quoted by Dr. Gunkel that the person is "Israel, my servant" (xlix. 4). Isaiah's teaching in these passages has nothing whatever to do with a pre-existent mysterious dying Messiah,³ but refers to the people of Israel.

This is the generally accepted interpretation of the great Jewish commentators, and is confirmed by the

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 78. The tendency of *iv. Ezra vii. 29* is to combat the Christian doctrine of a *divine* Messiah who is eternal; the Messiah of *iv. Ezra* dies like other men, because he is an ordinary mortal.

² *Ibid.*

³ Strange to say, Margolis, *Micah*, p. 87, thinks that the "pre-existent 'name' of the Messiah is equivalent to a transcendent" Messiah; see above, pp. 17, 110 for a contrary view.

last edition of Kautzsch's Old Testament. The translation of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. in this critical Bible is the work of Dr. Budde, whose commentary tells us that this famous chapter (liii.) contains in brief "the entire history of Israel until it was reduced to slavery and its nationality was destroyed" (p. 642).

Dr. Budde has nothing to say on behalf of the supposed mythological background, although he declares that "the complete suffering of God's servant was only realized in the life of the most exalted of her sons—Jesus" (p. 641). We dissent entirely from this interpretation of the *fulfilment* of the prophecy. Dr. Budde admits that the servant is Israel, and that the suffering depicted was actually endured by the Chosen People.

It is easy to show that this celebrated chapter (liii.) of Isaiah was not at all believed to refer to the Death and Resurrection of the God-Messiah by the authors of the Synoptic Gospels or even by Paul, inasmuch as the quotations from this chapter in the Synoptic Gospels or in Paul's Epistles do not, in a *single instance*, refer to the Crucifixion or to the Resurrection. Matthew, indeed, cites Isaiah liii. 4, but his quotation is not based on the Hebrew text, "Himself took our *infirmities*, and bare our *diseases*."¹ This text is quoted as a proof that Jesus fulfilled the prophetic word, inasmuch as he cast out devils and healed the sick. But there is no reference to the Passion. It

¹Matt. viii. 17. R. V. renders Is. liii. 4, "Surely he hath borne our *griefs* and carried our *sorrows*."

will be as well to give all the other quotations from this chapter of Isaiah which occur in the Pauline Epistles or in the Synoptic Gospels:—

NEW TESTAMENT.

"But they did not all hearken to the glad tidings. For Isaiah saith, Lord, who hath heard our report?" (Rom. x. 16).

"And he said unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a wallet; and he that hath none, let him sell his cloke, and buy a sword. For I say unto you, that this which is written must be fulfilled in me, And he was reckoned with transgressors; for that which concerneth me hath fulfilment." (Luke xxii. 36, 37).

OLD TESTAMENT.

"Who hath believed our report"¹ (or, "that which we have heard")? (Isaiah liii. 1).

"And he was numbered among the transgressors." (Isaiah liii. 12).

Luke does not quote the exact words of Isaiah (according to LXX.), he has probably changed "he was numbered *among* the transgressors" into "he was reckoned with transgressors."

In the Revised Version the same quotation (Isaiah liii. 12) appears in Mark xv. 28, but only in the margin: "Many ancient authorities *insert* verse 28, And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was reckoned with transgressors." The previous verse stated "And with him they crucify two robbers; one on his right hand and one on his left."² It is evident that the passage

¹Dr. Budde remarks that the "report" does not bear the meaning of the preaching of the Gospel.

²Mark xv. 27.

in Luke did not suggest the same historical fact which is implied in Mark. Again the best mss. do not have the passage in Mark.¹ The result of our investigation may be summed up in a few words. Three passages only from Isaiah liii. are quoted. The first and second passages do not refer to the death or resurrection, whilst the last passage occurs in the Gospel of Luke only according to the best mss., and refers to an incident which is probably not authentic.²

Finally, Dr. Gunkel refers to *iv. Ezra* (vii. 29). Surely this is inadmissible evidence because, as we saw in our first chapter,³ this book is post-Christian. There is not a single passage in the pre-Christian literature of the Jews of Palestine in which we have a theory of a dying God-Messiah who rises up to eternal life again. If then we are not able to find this Christology of Paul in Palestinian Jewish writings, we must seek it elsewhere. We believe that the solution will be found in attributing Paul's idea of a dying and rising God-Messiah to the influence of Hellenism.

Instead of following Dr. Gunkel we may, perhaps, find a better guide in Justin Martyr (114 C.E.-165 C.E.) one of the oldest of the Christian apologists. Justin was a contemporary of Rabbi Akiba, and wrote two Apologies of Christianity, as well as a polemical book against Judaism ("The Dialogue with Trypho").⁴ In the

¹See Pott, *Der Text des N. T.* p. 65.

²See Holtzmann, *Hand-commentar*, i. p. 281. Verse 37 of Luke xxii. is clearly out of place in its present context, verse 38 is directly connected with verse 36.

³See above, p. 22, and above, p. 130, note 1.

⁴Modern writers, e.g., Harnack, *Die Mission*, i. p. 50 f., and Geffcken, *Aus der Werdezeit des Christentums*, pp. 51, 63, repeat some of the unfounded statements of Justin, as though he were a reliable and impartial historian.

First Apology he addresses the heathen Greeks of his time in the following words :—

“If therefore, on some points we teach the same things as the poets and philosophers whom you honour . . . why are we unjustly hated more than all others ? ”¹

“And when we say also that the Logos, who is the first-birth of God, was produced without sexual union, namely, Jesus Christ, our teacher, who was crucified and who died, and rose again, and ascended into heaven ; *we propound nothing different from what you believe regarding those whom you esteem sons of Zeus.* For you know how many sons your esteemed writers ascribe to Zeus :—Hermes, the interpreting Logos and teacher of all ; Aesculapius, who, though he was a great physician, was struck by a thunderbolt, and so ascended to Heaven ; and Dionysus, too, after he had been torn limb from limb . . . and what of the emperors who die among yourselves, whom you deem worthy of deification . . . But we have learned that those only are deified who have lived near to God in holiness and virtue.”²

“Moreover, the Son of God, called Jesus, even if only a man by ordinary generation, yet on account of his *wisdom* is worthy to be called the *Son of God* ;³ for all writers call God the Father of men and gods. And if we assert that the Logos of God was born of God in a peculiar manner, different from ordinary generation,

¹Apol. i. 20.

²*Ibid.* 21.

³This connection between *wisdom* and the *Son of God* is noteworthy.

let this, as said above, be no extraordinary thing to you, who say that Hermes is the angelic Logos of God. But if any one objects that he was crucified, in this also he is on a par with those reputed sons of Zeus of yours, who suffered as we have now enumerated And if we even affirm that he was born of a virgin, accept this in common with what you accept of Perseus. And in what we say that he made whole the lame, the paralytic and those born blind, we seem to say what is very similar to the deeds said to have been done by Aesculapius."¹

Justin discusses the origin of heathen mythology in Chapter 54 of the First Apology. He repeatedly assures us that "the demons, in order to deceive and lead astray the human race, caused the tales of mythology to be invented."² For having heard it proclaimed through the prophets that the Christ was to come they put forward many to be called sons of Zeus, under the impression that they would be able to produce in men the idea that the things which were said with regard to Christ were mere marvellous tales, like the things which were said by the poets. And these things were said both among the Greeks and among all nations where they (the demons) heard the prophets foretelling that Christ would specially be believed in ; but that in learning what was said by the prophets, they did not accurately understand it, but imitated what was said of our Christ, like men who are in error, we will make

¹*Ibid.* 22.

²*Ibid.* 23 and 54.

plain." Thus Gen. (xlix. 10) was believed to refer to the Messiah, who is there spoken of as "binding his foal to the vine."¹ "The demons, accordingly, when they heard these prophetic words, said that Dionysus was the son of Zeus and gave out that he was the discoverer of the vine and they number wine among his mysteries; and they taught that, having been torn in pieces, he ascended into heaven."²

We are not disposed to accept this convenient theory of Justin. We do not believe that there were demons who deceived men and who invented Greek mythology in order to lead astray the human race. It must, indeed, have seemed most extraordinary to Justin and to his contemporaries that the Christian belief and practice had so many *points of contact with heathenism*. It might seem reasonable to Justin that these analogies were due to the malicious contrivance of the demons, who had to study the Old Testament in order to find out what kind of a religion Christianity was to be, and in order to prevent mankind from following this true Christianity, they had to substitute the heathen mythology.³

We need another explanation, which is more in accord with historical facts. Heathen mythology is many centuries older than Christianity. The demons are not the creators of this mythology, but are merely part of its own creation. The theory of Justin has to be reversed. It must be admitted that if the demons

¹ See Harnack, *Texte u. Untersuch.* 1891, vii. 2, p. 128.

² Justin, *Apol.* i. 54.

³ Would Harnack and Geffcken (see above, p. 133) also accept *this* opinion of Justin as worthy of credence?

did not, of set purpose, anticipate Christianity by inventing a mythology with similar ideas, beliefs, sacraments and rites, then it is Christianity which has adopted—perhaps unconsciously—its dogmas and practices from the heathen cults which obtained in the lands where the Church arose and flourished.

Dr. Frazer, the most eminent authority on the subject we are now considering, writes in the last edition of the *Golden Bough* the following weighty words in connection with the Easter celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ, which appears to him to have been influenced by the similar celebration in the heathen cults:—"Taken altogether the coincidences of the Christian with the heathen festivals are too close and too numerous to be accidental. They mark the compromise which the Church in the hour of its triumph was compelled to make with its vanquished yet still dangerous rivals. The inflexible Protestantism of the primitive missionaries, with their fiery denunciations of heathendom, had been exchanged for the supply policy, the easy tolerance, the comprehensive charity of shrewd ecclesiastics, who clearly perceived that if Christianity was to conquer the world it could do so only by relaxing the too rigid principles of its Founder, widening a little the narrow gate which leads to salvation."¹

The same argument holds good in the case of the Christology of Paul, who was all things to all men, to the Greeks a Greek, to the Jews a Jew.

¹*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 260.

Dr. Gunkel admits that "it would be a rash undertaking to assert that Paul's Christology was due to the influence exerted by the personality of Jesus."¹ Paul never knew Jesus. His only experience of his Master was limited to a vision. Dr. Wrede even asserts that "the picture of the human personality of Jesus has disappeared from the teaching of Paul. Moreover, Paul is not to be at all understood if measured by the teaching of Jesus."²

We have, therefore, little hesitation in asserting that Paul's Christ, who is the Son of God who dies and rises again from the dead, is due to the Oriental Hellenistic cults which flourished in the civilized world (apart from Palestine) in the first century, C.E. Judaism in this period knew nothing of a dying God-Messiah, whose resurrection was to be revealed to his followers.

Paul is compelled to represent his Christ in *human form*, inasmuch as he is conceived of as a *dying* Messiah-God, whose death brings salvation to all who believe in him. But this Messiah is more than human; he is the Son of God, the Heavenly Man through whom the world has been created and through whom it will be redeemed.³

It is, indeed, the Heavenly Christ picture which is for Paul the all-important fact. The Incarnation is

¹*Op. cit.* p. 89.

²*Über die Aufgabe und Methode der sogenannten Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, p. 67 f.

³The excellent summary of the Oriental Heathen Religions in M. Brückner's *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gottheiland*, based on Frazer, Pfeiderer, Cumont and others, has been utilized in the following account.

merely an episode. Paul entirely ignored the Virgin Birth, the Sermon on the Mount and the parables attributed to Jesus. If, then, Paul's Messiah is not to be explained by the recorded earthly life of Jesus, we require some other explanation of the origin of this Christ. Dr. Gunkel rightly asks: "Where do we find that the Supreme God is enjoying peace and that another being, similar to Him—yet subordinate—takes his place; that this God should appear on earth; dies and rises again and ascends to heaven in order to be glorified?"¹

"It is not the teacher, not the miracle-worker, not the friend of the publicans and sinners, not the opponent of the Pharisees, who is of importance to Paul. It is the crucified and risen Son of God alone."²

This same writer tells us elsewhere that whatever Paul has to say about Jesus is in fact only a myth or a drama, to which Jesus has contributed (the loan of) his name.³

To refer to the "fact" that Jesus really did rise from the dead is begging the question, because there was no eye-witness who saw this miracle. The New Testament itself bases its proof on two factors: (1) the visions of the risen one, experienced by women and the Apostles: (2) texts of Scripture believed to foretell a resurrection and made to fit in with the *assumed* fact. But visions are always subjective and there is no

¹*Op. cit.* p. 92.

²Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu in Religionsgesch. Volksbücher*, II. ed. p. 5.

³*Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, p. 329.

implication of any objective reality corresponding to the vision. We cannot admit in the realm of historical reality the results of such experiences as dreams, visions or fancies of the imagination. Again, the belief in the Messiahship of Jesus—his work as a Saviour of men after his earthly life had ended—is closely connected with the belief in his resurrection.

As we shall see, there was a general belief current in Hellenistic circles to the effect that the Saviour God died and rose again from the dead. It is feasible to assume that this belief was transferred by Hellenistic writers and preachers, such as Paul and Apollos, to Jesus who was reported to have died a cruel death in consequence of having claimed to have been the Messiah or Saviour of men. Again with regard to the texts. The Evangelists believed that what the Scriptures foretold must have been literally fulfilled by their Messiah. The texts were not simply quoted to justify the events, but the events were fashioned so as to harmonize with the texts, which were also either misunderstood or misinterpreted (and misquoted) so as to coincide with the traditions concerning the life-story of the God-Saviour.¹

We shall find that in most of the Hellenistic Oriental religions the celebration of the death and resurrection of the god was held in the spring, just like the Easter festival of the Church to-day. Again, we find the custom of celebrating the resurrection on the third day after the celebration of the death, which was

¹See Glover, *op. cit.* p. 183.

observed on the first day of the festival. This custom is also common to Christianity as well as to many of the Oriental cults. This last parallel with a remarkable deviation, which will be mentioned, is so close that one cannot help feeling that borrowing of some kind must have taken place. Now the Evangelists are in doubt as to the exact meaning of the "third day"; did it mean that three days had lapsed, or was it the third day itself?¹ The New Testament therefore speaks of the *third day* and of the *fourth day* in connection with the resurrection of Jesus. The resurrection of Osiris was also on the *fourth day* after his death.² We must not forget in this connection that the Hebrew tradition spoke of Jonah as being *three* days in the sea-monster and then returning to life.

In all the Hellenistic-Oriental religions, including Christianity, the death and resurrection of the Saviour-God was believed to assure the boon of immortality to all the faithful; for thereby was procured not only redemption from death, but also *re-birth* into the new life of eternity. The assurance of this hope of salvation was conveyed to the believers of all these creeds through two channels: (1) through the mystical communion with the God, and (2) by faith in Him and His power. The mystical communion was achieved by the sacred ceremonies of (1) Baptism and (2) Holy meals.³

¹Gunkel, *op. cit.* p. 80.

²See also Matt. xii. 40.

³See Harnack, *Die Mission*, i. pp. 196 ff.

As we know, Christianity also has both these sacraments. How are we to account for these parallels? The explanation is very simple. It lies in the circumstance that in the centres such as Antioch, Alexandria and Rome, where Christianity first arose, the Oriental heathen-cults were all-powerful, and were held in high esteem by the people. We need not explain the parallels in all cases between these heathen Oriental religions and Christianity as the direct result of conscious borrowing, but rather to the capacity of the Early Church to absorb the characteristics of its environment and to its specific nature as a creed of salvation, which naturally adopted the current theories of the day as to the means whereby this salvation could be obtained. It has been truly said: "On Jewish soil the new faith (of Christ) died; it was transplantation alone that made Christianity possible."¹

The fact that Christianity has so much in common with the Hellenistic-Oriental religions may also be explained by looking upon Christianity itself as an Oriental cult, possessed of a similar mythological background such as obtained in the heathen creeds. Their great similarity to each other resulted in a system of mutual influence. In time there arose new lines of development, when Christianity parted from its heathen rivals after having adopted the *fundamental features* of the pagan religions. The Church owes to these religions a great deal of its ecclesiastical art, its mysticism, its saint worship, monasticism, celibacy,

¹Glover, *op. cit.* p. 144.

ascetism, its sacraments, its military spirit, as well as its religious organization. None of these institutions can be explained from Judaism.¹

It is only fair to admit that in Judaism also, from time to time, we find how very easily the people were led astray from the perfect ideal of Monotheism. The heathen cults of the nations outside Palestine made inroads into the Holy Land, and even in Jerusalem itself the worship of heathen gods and goddesses was not a thing quite unknown. Jeremiah² protests against the worship of the "Queen of the Heaven" (Ishtar or Aphrodite). Official Judaism, through the mouth of the prophets, denounced all the heathen cults and demanded a pure Monotheism which only knew of one eternal living God, who is the spirit of holiness and love, who has neither wife nor son, who refuses to accept a vicarious sacrifice for the salvation of His children on earth. The Messiah idea, which the prophets unfolded, is destined to bring the human race to God and to teach everyone that he must save his own soul by his own personal effort and by his own self-sacrifice. There was no mythology in Judaism which involved an incarnation or the death and resurrection of the Deity. God's ways are not men's ways; men die, but God lives for ever. We are often told that Christianity claims relationship with Judaism. This will not be found to exist in the pure prophetic Judaism, but it certainly does exist in that spurious form of Judaism which flourished in Hellenistic

¹See Glover, *op. cit.* pp. 24, 144-147 and 168.

²vii. 18; xlv., 17-19.

circles. We have seen how Philo, influenced by Hellenism, anticipated in his Logos speculations the Christology of the New Testament, and so likewise the Christianity, which grew up and flourished in heathen circles, was unable to divest itself of the mythology which obtained in its environment.¹

We have already discussed and dismissed the theory that the dying and rising Messiah-God of Christianity is based on the suffering servant of Isaiah (liii.). There is, however, one more passage in the Old Testament, which is referred to by Dr. Gunkel² as showing in the background the figure of a dying and rising God, but which has been transformed by Judaism. The reference is to the prophecy of Zechariah, who in all probability knew something of the rites in connection with the heathen god Hadadrimmon, whose death and resurrection were celebrated by the heathens of his day. The passage in question reads as follows:—"And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication; and they (Israel) shall look up to me because of each one whom they (the Gentiles) have pierced;³ and they shall mourn for him (each one), as one mourneth for his only son, and

¹See above, p. 134.

²*Op. cit.* p. 78. Ps. xxii. should also be considered in this connection.

³R.V. renders: "And they shall look unto me whom they pierced." This is not a correct translation of the Hebrew text, see John. xix. 37, which has: "And again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced."

shall be in bitterness for him, as one that it is in bitterness for his firstborn. In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon" (xii. 10, 11).

In the previous verses (2-7) the zealous Jews are referred to, some of whom were likely to be killed by the Gentiles who were attacking them. Their brethren in Jerusalem will therefore lament these brave martyrs.¹ The Hadadrimmon reference is generally believed to refer to the place in the valley of Megiddo where king Josiah died at the hands of Pharaoh Necho.² This view is supported by Jerome,³ who tells us that Adadrimmon is a village near Jezreel. According to the Targum, Hadadrimmon was a son of Tab-rimmon, who slew Ahab King of Israel; so that the passage in Zech. (xii. 11) means "the mourning for Ahab."

Baudissin⁴ gives a new form to the Josiah theory, explaining the phrase in question as "the mourning for the *battle* of Hadadrimmon." If, however, Hadadrimmon (in verse 11) is really a heathen deity, we are not at all justified in explaining the *previous* verse as referring to a mythological god. Nearly 80 years ago Hitzig (in his commentary on Isaiah) suggested that the mourning was for Adonis, because in Phœnicia, Hadad was the name of the supreme Baal or god of Syria.⁵ The

¹This interpretation seems to be verified by the next two verses.

²ii. Kings xxiii. 29 and ii. Chron. xxxv. 22-25.

³Comm. *in loc.*

⁴*Stud. zur Sem. Religionsgeschichte*, i. p. 320.

⁵See Macrobius, *Saturn* i. 23, 18.

Assyrian inscriptions, however, identify him with the god of the atmosphere, Rimmon or Rammon. We should then have to translate "Hadadrimmon" by *Hadad is Rimmon*. Dr. Sayce¹ writes:—"But it is probable that Rimmon in certain parts of Syria represented the Sun-God, and not as in Assyria the god of the atmosphere." It is fair to note that Dr. Cheyne² explains the expressions "the mourning for the only one" and "the mourning of Hadadrimmon" (which are parallel) as referring to the mourning for Tammuz. Dr. Marti³ inclines to the view that the passage (v. 11) refers to the death of some martyr (probably Onias III, who was killed in 170 B.C.E.⁴). He explains Hadadrimmon as due to the confusion of the Babylonian-Syrian weather god with Tammuz. The latter is mentioned in Ezek. (viii. 14). In all these interpretations, both ancient and modern, there is no reference to the "*dying and rising God-Messiah*," whom Dr. Gunkel would like to find in some genuine Jewish record.

We are also told that the conception of a suffering Messiah was known in certain Jewish secret circles at the time of the rise of Christianity.⁵ Proof is afforded not only by the fact that the New Testament so often, and as it were, so naturally implies the necessity of the suffering of Jesus "in accordance with the words of Scripture"; but also by the fact that according to

¹Hastings' D.B. ii. p. 273.

²See *Enc. Bibl.* ii. Col. 1931.

³Kautzsch's O.T. ii. p. 93.

⁴See ii. Mac. iv. 27-34.

⁵Gunkel, *op. cit.* p. 82 and Drews, *op. cit.* p. 64.

Justin Martyr, the Jew Trypho is made to say, "We know that the Messiah will suffer." But is this any proof? Justin, the Christian apologist, is speaking, and not a real Jew. The New Testament is the voice of Hellenistic writers, who were not likely to know very much of the secrets of the Palestinian Jewish circles of the age when Jesus is said to have been born. Moreover, we know nothing at all about any such secret circles, which are assumed to have existed. Judaism cannot be held responsible for such probabilities, which lack all historical foundation. It is beside the question to speak in this connection of the Messiah Ben Joseph or Ben Ephraim who suffers, and the Messiah Ben David who is victorious. This contrast is most decidedly post-Christian. The Jewish idea of the two Messiahs, the one who suffers and the other who is victorious, may be analagous to the distinction between the dying and victorious Gods, Tammuz and Marduk of the Babylonians on the one hand, and Adonis and Melcarth of the Phœnicians on the other hand. But, as Dr. Brückner warns us, we cannot draw any conclusion with reference to any connection between the Jewish Messiah and the heathen religions, because such connection has not been proved to exist.¹ It will be our task in the next chapter to enquire as to the nature of the heathen worship whence Christianity derived its central belief of a dying God-Saviour, whose resurrection is the promise of life eternal to all who have faith him.

¹*Op. cit.* p. 42.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DYING SAVIOUR GOD.

WE have spoken of Christianity as a syncretic Oriental religion. This statement may be explained from two points of view. The fact that the founder of the Christian religion was by birth a Jew, who lived in Galilee, affords ample justification for speaking of his cult as Oriental. Secondly, the Church has so very much in common with other Oriental cults that we are constrained to include Christianity in the family of Oriental Religions. We are now concerned with the task of tracing the origin of the fundamental belief of the Christian Faith, which is summed up in the two words,—“Crucifixion” and “Resurrection.”

The belief in a divine Saviour or God, who dies and is raised to life again, is not peculiar to Christianity. This belief is to be found in almost all the Oriental Religions, that were either more ancient than Christianity or that flourished as contemporary rivals. Most of these heathen religions have a history which reaches far back into the distant past. Although Christianity originally had its roots in Palestine, it was at a very early date transplanted to heathen soil. In these

heathen surroundings, where people observed the old Oriental religions of Adonis or Tammuz, who had Attis and Osiris for his Phrygian and Egyptian counterparts respectively, we find the ritual of the death and resurrection of the god. The Christian Church adopted these current heathen ideas in order to gain converts from the rival creeds. Christianity is therefore a syncretic religion which owes not a little to Judaism, but at the same time owes considerably more to Hellenistic Heathenism. We have been taught all this by the recent researches of Frazer, Gunkel, Cumont and Pfleiderer. We have now learnt the reasonableness of accepting evolutionary views of the history of Christianity.

There seems to be two distinct stages in the development of the nature of the heathen gods. The mere fact that nearly all the heathen religions celebrate annual festivals commemorating the death and the resurrection of the gods points to their origin as being connected with Vegetation. The second stage comes later when astral features are associated with the gods of nature. The man in the primitive ages of history noted the changes of the seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, and the birth and death of living creatures. The problem was how to account for these facts. According to Dr. Frazer, the solution was believed to be in "the waxing or waning strength of divine beings, of gods and goddesses, who were born and died."¹ The

¹*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 2nd ed. p. 3.

rites and sacraments of the religion of the heathen were intended to give strength to the god so as to enable him to resist death, which was threatening to overcome him. Even if death succeeded in destroying the god, the ceremonies of the faithful were potent enough to infuse new energy into him so as to raise him again from the dead. "And as they now explained the fluctuations of growth [and decay, of reproduction and dissolution by the marriage, the death, and the re-birth or revival of the gods, their religions or rather magical dramas turned in great measure on these themes. They set forth the fruitful union of the powers of fertility, the sad death of one at least of the divine partners and his joyful resurrection."¹

Western Asia and Egypt were the home of these beliefs and cults. Vegetation, marked by annual decay and revival, was personified as a god who yearly dies and comes to life again. In the process of time these gods of nature were ultimately identified with the gods of the heavens. In the daily and yearly course of the sun, in the waxing and waning moon, in the constellations which disappear for a time and then become visible; in all these manifestations the primitive man saw gods who came and went, who died and rose again to life.² It is by no means easy at first sight to determine the original nature of the heathen gods. Life on earth is intimately bound up with the heavenly bodies. The sun helps Mother earth to] bring forth her

¹Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 4.

²See also Maimonides, *Hilchoth Abôde Chôchabim* i. 1f.

produce, and later on kills the sweet flowers and trembling leaf. The waning and waxing moon was also believed to exercise a sympathetic influence on the entire world of life. Speaking quite generally it is a fairly safe rule to assume that the Sun-gods represent the powers of nature that conquer and rule. The sun never really disappears (*i.e.* dies) in his yearly course, but always triumphs over his enemies of the autumn and winter by showing renewed strength in the spring and summer. The Sun God Mithras is therefore termed the Invincible (*Sol invictus*).¹

In the world of vegetation the short span of life in the spring is followed by the withering of fruit and blossom in the torrid heat of the Eastern summer. Then swiftly follows the death grip of icy winter. The life of warmth and beauty is all too short. The gods of vegetation are young and beautiful, but their life is soon cut off. Their ritual is of a mournful nature, lamentation and weeping for the death of the young god. The gods of vegetation are generally associated with a great Mother goddess. The gods are their sons or lovers. The meaning in ordinary language of all this mythology is, that Mother earth brings forth vegetation which is described as her son—or the relation between the earth and her produce is described as the union of husband and wife for the short period when nature brings forth her fruit. It is the goddess who loves the youthful god who is doomed to die; and not

¹See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, ii. pp. 99 ff.

vice-versa. As soon as the god dies he is lamented by the goddess, who seeks him in heaven, on earth and beneath the earth. It is owing to this circumstance that the sanctuaries are generally dedicated to the goddess and not to the god, who suffers and dies. The superiority of the goddess (which I venture to suggest was due to her immunity from death) is to be accounted for, according to Dr. Frazer "from a state of savagery in which the mere fact of paternity was unknown. That explains why in later times, long after the true nature of paternity had been ascertained, the Father God was often a much less important personage in mythology than his divine partner the Mother Goddess."¹

When in the process of time the sufferings of the dying god, and the salvation earned by him in consequence of his Passion and guaranteed by his resurrection, were interpreted as sufferings and death endured by the god in order that his followers might enjoy not only salvation in this life but also in the life beyond the grave; then only did the god gain an independent and predominant position. Then the young god of Vegetation becomes identified with the invincible Sun-god.

According to Dr. Brückner another sign of the origin of a god as a god of vegetation may be seen in the custom of holding a bull sacred to that deity. The bull is the symbol of generative force. But it must be

¹*Op. cit.* p. 236.

borne in mind that until the year 2100 B.C.E. the sun passed through the constellation of the bull at the birth of spring; afterwards, owing to the precession of the equinoxes, the sun passed through the constellation of the ram.¹ If, then, a bull and ram are sacred to a particular god, we may probably assume that it was originally a Sun-god. Another guide to enable us to discover the original nature of the god may be afforded by the circumstances of the festivals celebrated in his honour. If the worshippers of a god kept a day or period of mourning (to commemorate the sufferings and death of the god) in the early autumn or at midsummer, we can safely assume that we are dealing with a god of vegetation and not with a Sun-god. At midsummer or in the early autumn the sun is not at his minimum strength and there can be no reason to mourn then for his death or loss of strength. The sun never dies. Again, if the festival of joy to celebrate the resurrection of the god was held in the spring, we are undoubtedly dealing with the cult of a god of vegetation, for just at that season does vegetation rise again to life. The two festivals of sorrow and joy, held originally in the early autumn and in the spring respectively, were in later ages celebrated together, either in the spring or in the autumn.

The cult was so arranged that first of all the death of the god was celebrated and then at night or on the next day the sorrow of the worshippers was turned to

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 9.

joy, for they were hailing the resurrection of their god. Did they not believe that they also would overcome the corruption of the grave? The most important element in the ritual of all the Oriental cults was the dramatic celebration of the death and the resurrection of the Saviour God, in whose mystical union the worshipper felt that even death itself had lost its sting. In order to understand the meaning of these religions, it is necessary to become somewhat more intimately acquainted with their ceremonies and doctrines.

BABYLONIA.

Ezekiel saw women in the north gate of the temple of Jerusalem weeping for Tammuz (Ezek. viii. 14). The prophet gives us to understand that the event took place in the 6th year of King Jehoiachin's captivity, and the day was the fifth of the sixth month, although the LXX reads the fifth month. It was a little after midsummer in August or September, when the event referred to by Ezekiel probably took place. The Jews have preserved the name of Tammuz in their calendar. It is the fourth month. The Talmud asserts that the names of the Hebrew months were of Babylonian origin.¹ Tammuz was a Babylonian deity, whose worship had been borrowed from the non-Semitic people who first inhabited Mesopotamia. The name

¹T. J. Rosh Hashana i. 1.

Tammuz meant the "Son of Life."¹ He was the god of the vegetation of spring, who dies in the fourth month named after him (Tammuz) *i.e.* June-July. He is the beloved son or husband of the goddess Ishtar. The old poems of Babylonia described him as a beautiful shepherd, cut off in the prime of youth.² He descends into the lower world and was believed to be also the god of these regions. His disappearance was celebrated by a great lamentation which may have lasted for three weeks, (perhaps from the middle of Tammuz till after the first week in Ab).

In the Babylonian mythology Tammuz is described as the son of Ea, the deity who rules over the deep. There was a Babylonian trinity, consisting of Ea, Anu, the god of heaven, and Bel, the god of earth.³ They constituted the gods of all things in the "heavens above, in the earth beneath and in the waters under the earth." Ishtar, the great Mother-goddess, mourned long and vainly the loss of her beloved Tammuz. At last she resolves to descend into the underworld in order to find and to rescue him from the "land from which there is no returning," from "the house of darkness, where dust lies on door and bolt."⁴ She had to pass through seven gates before she reached her destination. At each gate an article of clothing was taken from her, until she arrived in the underworld bereft of all her

¹Hastings' D.B. iv. 6.

²See Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 21, 5

³Jeremias, *A.T.A.O.* p. 7.

⁴Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 7.

possessions, typifying the fact that at death a man taketh nothing away.

As soon as the goddess had descended into the underworld all life on earth ceased, even the propagation of species among man and beast. In a word, death was threatening to conquer the world of life. Ishtar had, meanwhile, been detained in the lower regions by the harsh queen Eresh-Kigal (Proserpine). The god Ea despatched a messenger to Eresh-Kigal demanding the liberation of Ishtar. The queen reluctantly obeys and allows Ishtar to be sprinkled with the water of life,¹ and to depart with her lover Tammuz in order to revive the world of nature where the children of men live. The return to life took place according to the myth on the 28th of Kislev (about December 21st). The ritual in connection with the annual commemoration of the death of the god was performed by wailing men and wailing women.² The hymn which described Ishtar's descent into the underworld was recited. The god was likened to plants which quickly fade. The dirges repeated the words with which Ishtar was believed to have mourned her beloved :—"O my brother, the only (son) !" and the mourners replied "Ah me, Ah me !"

"The dirges were seemingly chanted over an effigy of the dead god, which was washed with pure water, anointed with oil, and clad in a red robe,³ while the

¹ See Jeremias. *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, pp. 73 ff.

² Cf. מְקוֹנְנֹת Mourning women (Jer. ix. 16).

³ Burial in red robes is not quite unknown to Jewish and Christian custom.

fumes of incense rose into the air, as if to stir his dormant senses by their pungent fragrance and wake him from the sleep of death."¹ The sprinkling with the water of life and the anointing with oil referred to here afford an interesting parallel to the rite of baptism in the early Church.

In another Babylonian myth referring to Adapa (the first man) we are told how Tammuz disappears from earth in order to enter the gate of Anu (the heavens). We thus have in the Babylonian religion a belief in the resurrection or ascension of a dying god. We have another instance in the Babylonian Mythology of a similar cult associated with Marduk or Merodach, who defeated Tiamath, the demon of the deep and at the same time he annihilated the spirit of Evil (Satan, the accuser).

Marduk is the counterpart of Tammuz, he saved not only man but also the gods. He was king of the heavens "pasturing the gods like sheep."² His cult included a brilliant resurrection festival with splendid processions. He was in all probability originally a god of vegetation. The bull was sacred to him and his festival was kept in the spring. In later times he was worshipped as the god of light, of dawn and of spring. Because he had conquered Tiamath (the spirit of darkness and evil)³ he was hailed "Saviour God" and worshipped as the redeemer in all times of distress. He

¹Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 7.

²Jeremias, *A. T. A. O.*, p. 21.

³See Pinches, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 60.

was also invoked as a god of healing in times of sickness, as the god who could loosen every spell. He is the Merciful one, who lives to quicken the dead. His name is the lord of all lords, the king of all kings. In the winter Marduk dies and revives in the spring. The lamentations in commemoration of his death were recited or chanted on certain days. He is therefore spoken of as "Bel Nubatti" *i.e.* the god of the lamentation.¹ His grave was pointed out by his worshippers. When he came to life in the spring, his festival, which was called Zagnuk, was celebrated. This was the Babylonian New Year (*resh shatti*). He has conquered winter, conceived of as the dragon of the deep (*Tiamath*) and, therefore, his festival is observed when the day and night are equal (vernal equinox).²

The importance of Marduk is not to be ignored. He is the son of Ea, who is described as *ilu amelu* (God-man). Marduk is the lord of a new world, which has replaced the old world of evil. He is the Demiurg, through whom the world has been created. He is the Saviour, who can loosen the spells and who heals the sick and revives the dead.³ He is the Mediator between the gods and men. He dies and his sepulchre is known.⁴ He rises again from death to everlasting life. The festival in honour of the resurrection of Marduk corresponds to the celebration of the death of the year god (dying nature). The winter solstice (Dec. 25th)⁵

¹Jeremias, *Babylonisches im N. T.* p. 9.

²See Jeremias, *A. T. A. O.*, p. 83.

³Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 97.

⁴Herodotus, i. 183.

⁵This was the date according to the Julian calendar.

was the birthday of the year god, whilst the summer solstice was the festival of the death of Tammuz.

LITERATURE.

On Tammuz see Rothenstein's *Comm. on Ezekiel* (viii. 14) in Kautzsch; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, part iv. (Index s. Tammuz), and Hastings' D.B., iv. p. 676 f.

Enc. Bibl. iv., cols. 4893 ff. where the question of the relation of Old Testament heroes to the Tammuz Myth is discussed.

See also Pinches, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 69 ff. und "Tammuz" in *Enc. Brit.*

On Marduk see Jeremias in *Roscher's Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, ii. 2, 2340 ff.; and Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*.

PHœNICIA.

The Phœnician god Adonis has been identified by Dr. Frazer¹ with the Babylonian god Tammuz. His chief seat of worship was at Byblus on the coast of Syria. Here was the famous temple of Aphrodite or Baalath Gebal, that is the female Baal of Byblus. Her symbol was a tall cone or obelisk erected in the court of the temple.² To this day the women of Kuklia, the old city of Paphos in Cyprus, anoint conical cones in honour of the Virgin Mary, who has taken the place of the old goddess Aphrodite.³ Another sanctuary, sacred

¹Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* p. 6.

²*Ibid.* p. 11.

³*Ibid.* p. 32.

to the cult of Aphrodite, was to be found at Aphaca in the Lebanon range at the source of the stream named after Adonis, which falls into the sea a little to the south of Byblus and is now known as Nahr Ibrahim. It was at this spot near a profound gorge, perhaps the most beautiful spot on earth, that the mournful rites were annually celebrated to mark the death of the youthful god Adonis. When the red anemone, the flower of Adonis, blossomed among the cedars of Lebanon and the mountain stream ran red, owing to the melting snow and reddish mountain soil being carried into the stream, the people of Syria believed that they then beheld the blood of the slain god and then they kept his festival.¹ This was observed in the spring or early summer.

The legend tells us that Adonis sprang into life out of a myrtle tree.² Another tradition says that his mother's name was Myrrha, who had been transformed into a tree.³ Adonis was a huntsman who became the lover of Astarte (Aphrodite).⁴ The name of the god resembles the Hebrew Adon and means *master* or *lord*, just like Bel or Baal which also means *lord*. According to the legend, the death of Adonis was due to the jealousy of Ares (the lover of Aphrodite), who sent a wild boar against his rival. Ares is also said to have transformed himself into the boar. It is not quite clear

¹ Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 8.

² Pausanias, vi. 24, 7.

³ Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 39, for the legend of Cinyras' incestuous intercourse with Myrrha and the birth of Adonis; see also p. 186.

⁴ Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 21, 5.

what significance is to be attributed to the boar in this legend. It may represent winter which kills all vegetation. The lament for Adonis was the chief feature of his ritual.¹ We saw the same fact in the case of the worship of Tammuz. In course of time a process of syncretism altered this by combining with the wailing a feast in honour of the resurrection of the god. It has been thought that this change was due to the influence of the Egyptian Osiris cult. The Roman writer Lucian,² who witnessed these rites, tells us:—“There is a large temple of Aphrodite at Byblus where they celebrate the mysteries of Adonis. I was duly instructed in these mysteries. The people say that the story of Adonis and the boar occurred in that locality. In memory of the suffering of the god they mortify themselves every year, and they lament and perform the secret rites of his cult. The mourning is widely observed in that district. When they have beaten themselves and cried sufficiently, they offer a sacrifice to Adonis as though they were sacrificing to the dead. The next day they say that he is living again for they believe that he had ascended to heaven in the presence of the faithful. In the next chapter Lucian observes that at Byblus, where Osiris was supposed to be buried, it was thought that the ritual of the lamentation was for Osiris and not for Adonis. This belief was connected with the strange story that every year a head floated from Egypt to Byblus.³ Cyril of Alexandria reports that

¹See Baudissin, *op. cit.* pp. 298 ff.

²Lucian, *op. cit.* 6.

³*Ibid.* 7.

Egyptian women in his city every year sent a letter in a pitched bottle to the women of Byblus.¹ This arrives on a certain day at Byblus and brings the message that Adonis has been found—"We found him and we rejoiced." The cult of Adonis was known in Alexandria since the third century B.C.E.² The ritual at Alexandria began with the representation of the marriage of Adonis and Aphrodite. The images of the god and goddess were displayed on two couches, "beside them were set ripe fruit of all kinds, cakes, plants growing in flower-pots, and green bowers twined with anise."³ On the following day the death of the god was celebrated. His image was carried to the sea-shore amid loud cries of grief and then committed to the waves. In spite of their sorrow the people believed that their dead god would come to life again.⁴ The cult of Adonis passed to the Greeks as early as the seventh century B.C.E. Sappho (about 600 B.C.E.) sings of him and Plato speaks of the gardens of Adonis. These gardens⁵ were pots or baskets filled with earth, in which wheat, barley, lettuces, and various kinds of flowers were sown and tended by women for eight days. The plants shot up very quickly, but having no root they withered away just as rapidly. These gardens were a symbol of the vegetation which

¹Brückner, *op. cit.* p. 16.

²Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 1, 73.

³Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 183.

⁴Theocritus, xv. 131 ff.

⁵For the authorities see Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 194; cf. Jeremias, *A. T. A. O.* p. 89, and Roscher, *ibid.* 74.

arises in the spring and dies in the early summer. The baskets or pots were then cast into the water with images of the dead god Adonis. It has been suggested that the rite represented an offering to the male principle of life symbolized by the water, whereby this principle would be strengthened and preserved.¹ In other words, the gardens of Adonis were originally intended to be charms to bring about the revival of vegetation and the preservation of life.

In Greek mythology Adonis is the beautiful youth whom Aphrodite loves. In his infancy the goddess placed him in a box, which she gave in charge of Proserpine, the goddess of the nether-world. When Proserpine opened the box and beheld the beauty of the child, she refused to restore him to Aphrodite. Zeus settled the quarrel by arranging that for one-third of the year Adonis should be on earth with Aphrodite, and for two-thirds he was to be in the nether-world with Proserpine. The third of the year clearly points to the duration of spring and early summer. At last Adonis, whilst hunting, was killed by a wild boar. Bitterly did Aphrodite lament her lost and beloved Adonis.²

In Attica the festival of Adonis took place at the height of summer. When Alcibiades sailed with the Athenian fleet to attack Syracuse at midsummer in 411 B.C.E. the rites of Adonis were being observed at that time in Athens.³ "As the troops marched down

¹Brückner, *op. cit.* p. 18.

²Apollodorus, *Myth. Bibl.* iii. 14, 4, cf. Jeremias, *Babyl. im N.T.* p. 31, and Roscher, *ibid.* p. 72.

³Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 18, and *Nicias*, 13.

to the harbour to embark, the streets through which they passed were lined with coffins and corpse-like effigies, and the air was rent with the noise of women wailing for the dead Adonis. The circumstance cast a gloom over the sailing of the most splendid armament that Athens ever sent to sea."¹ These voices of lamentation were believed to be an ill omen for the success of the expedition. Pausanias tells also of the women of Argos who wept for Adonis.²

According to Dr. Brückner, the Jews knew the cult of Adonis as early as the eighth century B.C.E. The gardens of Adonis are said to be mentioned in Isaiah xvii. 10 f. Certain passages of the Old Testament have also been considered by Brückner to refer to Adonis. Amos (viii. 10) speaks of the "lament for an only son."³ In Dan. (xi. 37) "The delight of women" is believed to refer to the god Adonis or Tammuz. Jeremiah (xliv. 17-19) is also taken to refer to the worship of one of the Mother-goddesses, Ishtar or Aphrodite.⁴ Dr. Jeremias believes that he has discovered a connection between Tammuz-Adonis and the history of Joseph and Jonah.⁵ The story says that Jonah was confined in the belly of a fish, this is believed to be another version of the detention of the god in the nether-world. Jonah is in the fish for three days. These

¹Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 185.

²ii. 20, 6.

³Cf. Jer. vi. 22; xxii. 18; xxxiv. 15; Zech. xii. 10.; Ps. xxxv. 14; i. Kings xiii. 11 according to LXX.

⁴Brückner, *op. cit.* pp. 18 ff., and Jeremias, *A.T.A.O.* p. 91.

⁵Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 91.

incidents have, however, been utilized by the writers of the New Testament (Matt. xii. 40 and i. Cor. xv. 4), who speak of Jesus as abiding in the bosom of the earth and rising on the third day.¹ Again, the description in the Book of Jonah of the "fasting and sack-cloth" is believed to recall the Adonis lamentation at Antioch. Finally, the springing up and dying of the gourd in Jonah is claimed to resemble the "Adonis Gardens" which we have already mentioned.²

Dr. Frazer has drawn attention to the remarkable resemblance of the Easter ceremonies in the Greek Church and in the Roman Catholic Church to the rites of Adonis. "When we reflect how often the Church has skilfully contrived to plant the seeds of the new faith on the old stock of paganism, we may surmise that the Easter celebration of the dead and risen Christ was grafted upon a similar celebration of the dead and risen Adonis, which, as we have seen reason to believe, was celebrated in Syria at the same season. The type, created by Greek artists, of the sorrowful goddess (Aphrodite) with her dying lover (Adonis) in her arms, resembles and may have been the model of the *Pietà* of Christian art, the Virgin with the dead body of her divine Son in her lap, of which the most celebrated example is the one by Michael Angelo in St. Peter's Ancient Greek art has bequeathed to us few works so beautiful, and none so pathetic."³

¹Jeremias, *op. cit.* p. 600; Gunkel, *Zum rel. Verständnis*, p. 80 f., and see above, p. 141.

²Brückner, *op. cit.* p. 19, and above, p. 162.

³Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 214.

We can see how close was the connection between Jesus and Adonis by the following statement of Jerome, who tells us that in his day Bethlehem was a seat of Adonis (Tammuz) worship. His grove was to be seen there and women wept for him.¹ Bethlehem, according to the New Testament, was the birth-place of Jesus, and there also came the wise men who worshipped him.²

Dr. Frazer suggests that the Morning Star, identified with Venus, may have been the signal for the festival of Adonis, which was regularly timed to coincide with the appearance of the Morning Star. At Antioch and elsewhere the appearance of this star on the day of the festival may have been hailed as the coming of Aphrodite to wake her beloved dead from his long death sleep. It may be that it was the Morning Star which guided the wise men of the East to Bethlehem, the hallowed spot which heard the lament for Adonis and the crying of the infant Jesus.³ Jerome would have us believe that the heathen worship in Bethlehem was post-Christian. We have already seen how the Church Fathers were wont to regard ancient heathen rites and customs as copies of their own similar rites and customs. This verdict must be reversed. The heathen rites were earlier than the Christian. Perhaps Rachel's weeping for the children (referred to in Matt. ii. 18) is an echo of the Adonis cult at Bethlehem.

In later times Adonis was identified with the corn

¹Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 214 f.

²Matt. ii. 1-12, and cf. Frazer, *ibid.* p. 216.

³Frazer, *ibid.* p. 216.

spirit. The corn was placed in the earth, where it rots and dies in order to rise again to life. This idea was applied by Jesus to himself according to John (xii. 24). Adonis was also bewailed by the heathen Syrians as the corn spirit, bruised and ground in a mill and then scattered to the wind. This mourning for the god has been interpreted as a harvest rite, "designed to propitiate the corn-god, who was then either perishing under the sickles of the reapers, or being trodden to death under the hoofs of the oxen on the threshing-floor."¹ This interpretation of the death of Adonis is not the original meaning of his cult. In the earliest forms of the legend he was the huntsman or shepherd of the god of the fields, and he represents by his early death the transient life of nature, illustrated by the annual decay of vegetation under the summer heat or winter cold. Dr. Frazer thinks that the Adonis worship might have been originally connected with that of a single tree.² The most interesting feature of his cult is the combined celebration of his death and resurrection. The reason of this was due to the hopes which his reawakening from death inspired in his worshippers.

LITERATURE.

On Adonis see Mannhardt, *Wald-und Feldkulte*; Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie*, I. 385 ff.; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii. pp. 646 ff.; see also Hastings' D.B.; *Enc. Bibl.* and *Enc. Brit. sub. voc.*

¹Frazer, *ibid.* p. 189 f.

²*Ibid.* p. 191.

TYRE.

Just as the Phœnician Adonis corresponds to the Babylonian Tammuz, so the Tyrian Melcarth (*King*) corresponds to the Babylonian Marduk. The Greeks identified Melcarth¹ with Hercules, the son of Zeus and Asteria (Astarte), who is said to have immolated himself at Tyre and to have ascended up to heaven in a cloud and a peal of thunder. The festival of his death and resurrection was celebrated in the month of Peritius (January) and may be referred to in ii. Macc. iv. 18-20, as a quadriennial festival.² Quintus Curtius tells us that every year the Carthaginians sent special ambassadors to the festival of Melcarth at Tyre, their mother-city.³ At Gades, the modern Cadiz, in Spain there was a temple of Melcarth (Hercules) where Hannibal offered worship before he crossed the Alps. There was no image of the god in the temple, only a fire was kept burning on the altar. Priests, with shaven heads and bare feet, officiated in white robes. They were bound to chastity and probably to perpetual celibacy. Every year the effigy of the god was burnt and the idea was conveyed to the worshippers that their god had been purified by the fire and Phoenix-like had risen to a new life. At Carthage, the greatest of the Tyrian colonies, a reminiscence of the custom of burning a god or goddess in effigy seems to linger in the story of the death of Dido,⁴ the queen of the city. In later

¹As to the God Melcarth see Roscher's *Lexikon* ii., 2, 2650 ff.

²Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 85.

³Q. Curtius, iv. 2, 10.

⁴Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 473 ff.

times, the fire walk (*i.e.* walking on hot stone) replaced the old custom of burning the king or god.¹ Dr. Frazer concludes that the death of Hercules was a Greek version of the burning of Melcarth.² In like wise was Sandan, the founder of Tarsus, worshipped.³ The people of his city erected a splendid pyre in his honour at his periodical festival. Paul lived at Tarsus. Are we not to suppose that he was influenced by the local beliefs and practices, even though they were heathen? It was also to the heathen that he believed himself sent as the Apostle of a new morality and religion. We shall see how he allowed his new doctrine to be influenced by the old heathen beliefs.

LITERATURE.

On Melcarth see Pauly, R. E. iv. 1734 ff.; E. Meyer's article in Roscher, ii. 2, 2650 ff., *s. v.* Melquart and cf. *ibid.* *s. v.* Melikertes, 2632 ff.

ASIA MINOR.

"Another of these gods" says Dr. Frazer,⁴ "whose supposed death and resurrection struck such deep roots into the faith and ritual of Western Asia is Attis. He was to Phrygia what Adonis was to Syria." When the Romans in 204 B.C.E. accepted the worship of Cybele, it is most probable that the Attis cult was introduced at the same time. It was not very long before these Oriental cults gained wide popularity. Cybele was called the Mother of the Gods. She was a great

¹Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 88, who refers to Ezekiel xxviii. 14, 16.

²Frazer, *ibid.* p. 90.

³Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 8, 3, and Frazer, *ibid.* p. 99.

⁴Frazer, *ibid.* p. 219.

Asiatic goddess of fertility. Attis was born miraculously of the virgin Nana ; and like Adonis he was a beautiful shepherd. There are two legends about his death. In the Lydian account he dies like Adonis ; according to the Phrygian version he dies in consequence of unmaning himself under a pine-tree,¹ after being maddened by the jealous Cybele. After his death he is said to have been changed into a pine-tree. This tree, the ordinary Christmas tree, is the holy tree of Attis.

The Sibylline books had foretold that the foreign invader (*i.e.* Hannibal) would not leave Italy until the great goddess had been brought to Rome.² In 204 B.C.E. the holy stone of Cybele was brought from Pessinus to Ostia, and then in solemn procession it was taken to Rome and erected in the temple of the goddess of Victory on the Palatine Hill.³ This was a memorable event in the universal history of religion. It marked the beginning of the gradual conquest of the West by the East, in culture and religion ; a conquest of much greater importance for the course of the world's progress than was the conquest of the East by the Roman legions. It was only in 54 C.E. that the worship of Attis was formally permitted by the Emperor Claudius as a state religion.⁴ Of course, it had been observed for many years prior to 54 C.E., but it had not received official recognition in the established religion of Rome.

¹Ovid, *Metam.* x. 103 ff., and Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 7 and 16.

²Frazer, *ibid.* p. 221.

³Livy, xxix. 10, 11, and 14.

⁴Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme Romain* pp. 68 ff., and Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult.* p. 145 ff.

The festival of Attis was observed with great ceremony in Rome at the time of the vernal equinox on March 22nd. A pine-tree was cut down in the holy grove of the goddess Cybele. The trunk of the tree was entwined with white woollen bands and decked with wreaths of violets ; and the image of the god was tied to the middle of the stem. This was carried by special officers (Dendrophores) into the temple on the Palatine Hill.¹ Next day the feast of the Tubilustrum or ' purification of the Trumpets ' took place. On March 24th the ' day of blood ' was observed amidst wild music of cymbals and flutes, and the priests danced madly around the image of the god. Then the priests cut themselves and their blood was sprinkled on the sacred image. Many worshippers joined in the frenzy and dismembered themselves and thereby sanctified themselves to the deity. The 25th was the festival of joy (*Hilaria*) to celebrate the resurrection of the god. The next day was a day of rest (*Requietio*). On the 27th the purification of the image of the god took place. The ritual included a procession to the stream Almo near Rome. The image and the wagon on which the deity was carried, and the sacred objects were washed in the stream. The rite was known as the *Lavatio* or washing.² In other places the image of Attis was buried. At night when the mourning had produced the maximum excitement, a light was suddenly kindled : the grave was opened : the god had risen from the dead. The priest anointed with holy balm

¹On the festival, see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 264 ff. ; Cumont, *op. cit.* pp. 62, 69 f. ; Frazer, *ibid.* p. 222 ff. ; Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 721 ff., and Brückner, *op. cit.* pp. 22 ff.

²Cumont, *ibid.* p. 70.

the lips of all partaking in the ceremony and softly whispered the words, "Be comforted ye pious, for the god has been saved, so shall salvation be sent to you to deliver you from all distress."¹

This piece of heathen liturgy is of the greatest importance, inasmuch as it demonstrates the fact that the worshipper believed that he had entered into a real communion with his god by participating in the rites of the deity. The death of the god and his resurrection were the guarantee to the worshipper of a like experience. Does not Paul also in i. Cor. xv. adopt the same line of argument? Besides the public worship of Attis, there were the mysteries of the god to which only the initiated were admitted. Baptisms and ascetic rules, such as little food and avoidance of sexual intercourse, were part of the necessary preparations to obtain the needful stage of purification. There was also a holy communion or meal before one could become initiated into these mysteries. The 'tokens' or avowal of rites were as follows:—"I have eaten out of the Tympanon (drum). I have drunk out of the Cymbalon (cymbal) and I am now initiated."² The meal consisted of wine and bread, and also of the otherwise prohibited fish.³ We seem to be dealing with the Christian Communion service. Another act of initiation consisted of the sacrifice of the bull or

¹Firminus Maternus, *De errore prof. relig.* 22. Cumont draws attention to the fact that the death of Attis brought divinity to him (see also Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 93). Likewise Paul's Christ only becomes the Son of God at the Resurrection.

²Firminus Maternus, *ibid.* 18.

³Brückner, *op. cit.* p. 24.

the ram (taurobolium and kriobolium).¹ The person to be initiated, crowned with gold and wreathed with fillets, descended into a pit (like a grave), the mouth of which was covered with strong trellis work. A bull, adorned with garlands, was then driven on to the grating and there stabbed to death with a consecrated spear. The hot blood poured down into the pit and the man was baptized in blood which he drank with devout eagerness. Thus, "washed in the blood," he ascended out of the pit, scarlet from head to foot, to receive the adoration of his fellows as one newly born again to eternal life. He then received divine honours on account of his supposed communion with the god. His first meal after this ceremony consisted of milk—a symbol of his re-birth.²

LITERATURE.

On Attis see Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 2, 2247 and Farnell, *op. cit.* iii. pp. 300 f.

GREECE.

Closely connected with the Phrygian Attis worship was the cult of the Thracian Dionysus. They were both identified with Sabazius, a name which is said to be connected with Sabaoth, one of the titles of the God of Israel.³ Dionysus was said to have been the

¹For the meaning of these terms see Cumont, *op. cit.* p. 83.

²Cumont, *op. cit.* pp. 81 ff. and Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 229.

³See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 4. Cumont (*ibid.* p. 79) points out that the *Κύριος Σαβαώθ* of the LXX was believed to be the equivalent to the heathen *Κύριος Σαβάς*. See also *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.* (Feb. 1906, pp. 63 ff.) on *Les mystères de Sabazius et le Judaïsme*.

son of Zeus and his daughter Persephone. In early youth his father gave him the right to rule the world, but the jealous Hera invited the wicked Titans, the foes of Zeus, to rebel against the son of the god. He escaped in various guises (like the sun in the different constellations) but at last he was caught when disguised as a bull, and he was destroyed by his pursuers. In this connection he was called *Zagreus*, i.e. "torn in pieces." But every third year, after spending the interval in the nether-world, he is born anew. According to the Orphic legend the Titans swallowed the limbs of Dionysus, but not the heart of the son of the god, which was brought to Zeus, who swallowed it himself, whereupon a new Dionysus was born. Then Zeus slew the Titans with his lightning, and out of their corpses arose a new race of men who had a dual nature, one wild like that of the Titans, and the other divine like that of Dionysus; so that they can seek and find divine salvation (*σωτηρία*) in communion with the God who was invoked as *σωτήρ* (the Saviour-God).¹ His grave was shown at Delphi.² Secret offerings were brought to the shrine where the grave was situated, while the women, who were celebrating the feast of the god, woke up Dionysus (Licnites);³ in other words, they invoked the new-born god cradled in a winnowing fan. Festivals of this kind, in celebration of the death and resurrection of the god,

¹ See Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 432 ff. For the legends, see Seyffert, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (ed. Nettleship and Sandys) pp. 191 ff. and Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 1, 1059.

² Pausanias, viii. 30 f.

³ Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 35.

were held by women and girls only, every third year, on the mountains at night about the time of the shortest day of the year (December 22nd). The rites, intended to express the excess of grief and joy at the death and resurrection of the god, were wild even to savagery. The women had their hair entwined with snakes, and in their hands they held flaming torches. The victims of the sacrifice were torn in pieces and eaten raw, in imitation of the death of Zagreus. The sacrificial meal was believed to unite the worshipper with the god, and thereby redemption from death would be bestowed on all who joined in the mystery-rites. The mystery meant that the worshipper himself experienced the actual sufferings of the god.¹

Thrace and Asiatic Greece were the scene of the wildest orgies. In Asia Minor the worship of Dionysus Zagreus came to be associated with the equally wild rites of Rhea (Cybele) and Attis. Like so many of the Oriental deities, Dionysus Sabazius represented the flourishing life of nature which sinks in death, always to rise again. As an emblem of the yearly revival of nature, the symbol specially appropriated to him was the snake. Accordingly, at the celebration of his mysteries, a golden snake was passed under the clothes and drawn over the bosom of the initiated.² Another version of the story was as follows:—The torn limbs of Dionysus were brought to Apollo and put together in

¹Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 1, 1037, 1078.

²Clement of Alexandria, *Protept.* ii. 16, cf. Theophrastus, *Characters*, xxviii., (ed. Jebb), and Roscher, *ibid.* 1087.

their right position and buried at Delphi. Origen knew of the further tradition that after the limbs had been put together, there was a resurrection.¹ This version² may be due to the influence of the Osiris cult. There was indeed a striking resemblance between the ritual of Dionysus and that of Osiris; but it would be wrong to identify the two religions, which, though certainly akin in nature, are most probably independent in origin.³

The vine was the sacred emblem of the worship of Dionysus. One form of the legend tells how Diana found the throbbing heart of the dismembered Dionysus and buried it in the earth, and out of this seed of divine life grew the vine. In John xv. 1, Jesus exclaims, "I am the true Vine." Matthew lets Jesus assert that the wine is his blood, and makes him also declare, "But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in my Father's Kingdom" (xxvi. 29).⁴

In the mysteries of Eleusis, the Mother of Dionysus was believed to have been Demeter. She was called *ἱερὰ παρθένα* "the holy Virgin."⁵ Demeter, Isocrates says, brought to Attica "twofold gifts." These were "crops" and the "Rite of Initiation." He adds that those who partake of this rite have "fairer hopes concerning the end of life."⁶ An attempt has been made to

¹Brückner, *op. cit.* p. 26.

²See Miss Harrison, *Religion of Ancient Greece*, p. 52.

³Herodotus, ii. 49, and Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 35, identified the two religions. See also Frazer, *op. cit.* pp. 332, 344 and 357.

⁴Jeremias, *Babyl. im N.T.* p. 33.

⁵Jeremias, *ibid.* p. 47.

⁶Isocrates, *Panegy.* 28.

establish some sort of connection between the two gifts. It is believed that the Greeks saw in the sowing of the seed and its uprising at spring-time, a symbol of the death and resurrection of man's body and soul.¹ Paul and John have a similar idea.² The Rabbis, likewise, use the argument for the resurrection from the same analogy.³ As we have seen, the God Dionysus-Zagreus dies and comes to life again.⁴

For Greeks as for Christians, only the God, who dies and comes to life again, can bring the hope of salvation and immortality. Again, in the cult of Dionysus-Zagreus the worshipper becomes one with the god and thereby puts on immortality. "The worshipper of Dionysus-Zagreus became *Bacchos*."⁵ In the Mysteries of Dionysus the aim is chiefly to have communion with the deity, attained by eating the god, by marrying him, or by being symbolically born anew as the god. On an Orphic tablet the initiate soul is greeted with the words: "Thou art become God from man."⁶ These ideas again are not unknown to Paul and to the other New Testament theologians, who speak of "putting on Christ,"⁷ of "Christ dwelling"⁸ in men, and of "being born again."⁹ The worship of Dionysus-Zagreus was ascetic. The worshipper in the Mystery

¹Miss Harrison, *op. cit.* p. 51.

²i. Cor. xv. 36 f; *ibid.* 42 ff. and John xxii. 20, and cf. Heinrici, i. Cor., p. 529 f.

³*T. B. Ketuboth* 111 b. and *T. B. Synhedrin* 90 b.

⁴Eur. *Frg.* 475 and Miss Harrison, *op. cit.* p. 55.

⁵Miss Harrison, *op. cit.* p. 56.

⁶Rom. xiii. 14, Gal. iii. 27.

⁷Rom. viii. 10, Gal. ii. 20.

⁸John iii. 3, 7.

rites of the god was robed in pure white; he abstained from all kinds of meat, and also from all ceremonial pollution. Only by such asceticism could he hope to free the divine element within him, and so be united with the god.¹ Paul teaches also:—"But if ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live."² Again, "Mortify therefore your members which are on the earth" was written to the Colossians by Paul or by one of his school.³ Before quitting this subject we may refer to the custom of releasing prisoners observed at the Athenian festival of Dionysus,⁴ and at the Greek festival of Thesmophoria.⁵ The parallel custom appears in the New Testament account of Pilate's conduct on the occasion of the trial of Jesus.

Like Adonis, Hyacinth is another mythical being who has been interpreted as a personification of vegetation which blooms in the spring and withers under the glowing heat of the summer sun.⁶ He belongs to Greek, and not to Oriental mythology. The legend tells how one day he was being taught by Apollo to play quoits, when he was accidentally killed by a blow of the god's quoit. From his blood, Apollo caused the purple iris to spring up, just as anemones grew up from the blood of Adonis. These vernal flowers heralded year by year the advent of another spring and gladdened the

¹Miss Harrison, *ibid.* p. 56 f.

²Rom. viii. 13.

³Col. iii. 5. On asceticism in the teaching of Jesus, see my *Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount*, pp. 167, 264.

⁴P. Foucart, *Le culte de Dionysos in Attique*, p. 168.

⁵Frazer, *G. B. ii. Taboo*, p. 316.

⁶Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 2763 sq; cf. also Rhode's *Psyche* (3rd. ed.) i. pp. 137 ff.

hearts of men with the promise of a joyful resurrection.¹ Like other festivals in honour of nature, the festival of the Hyacinthia lasted three days and was connected with the expression of grief at the death of the god and of vegetation, as well as with the expression of joy and hope in the reawakening of the god and of nature. On the first day, which was dedicated to silent mourning, sacrifice to the dead was offered at the grave of Hyacinth. The following day was spent in public rejoicing in honour of Apollo, in which all the populace took part. The people went in festal procession with choruses of singing children, accompanied by musicians with harps and flutes. This outburst of gaiety may be supposed to mark the resurrection of Hyacinth and probably also his ascension to heaven, which was represented on his tomb.² It has been suggested that the ascension was celebrated on the last day of the festival.

LITERATURE.

On Dionysus see Farnell, *op. cit.* v. pp. 85 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, *Encyclopädie*, v. i. 1010 ff.; Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 418 ff., and 480 ff.

On Hyacinth see Frazer, *Attis*, p. 262 note 1, for literature.

EGYPT.

In ancient Egypt the death and resurrection of Osiris were celebrated with alternate sorrow and joy every year. Originally he was held to be a vegetation god, especially of the corn. He was identified with

¹Frazer, *Adonis*, pp. 262 ff.

²Pausanias, iii. 1, 3. quoted by Frazer. *ibid.* p. 263.

Adonis,¹ and his worship extended far and wide. In course of time new attributes were added to his personality. He attained the position of the supreme god in his rôle of Serapis (= Osiris and Apis of Egypt, or Osiris and Apsi of Babylon). Plutarch² has given us an excellent account of his myth, but much help has been furnished in our days by the study of the Egyptian monuments and records. Osiris is the son of the Earth-god Geb or Keb and the Sky-goddess Nut. When the Sun-god Ra perceived that his wife Nut had been unfaithful to him, he vowed that she should not be delivered of a child on any day during the lunar year. Nut had another lover and good friend in Thoth or Hermes, who won for her from the Moon-god one-seventy-second part of each day (*i.e.* the five days of intercalation added to the days of the lunar year), and on each of these five days she had a child. On the first day Osiris was born; on the second, Horus (the elder); on the third, Set; on the fourth, the goddess Isis; on the fifth, the goddess Nephthys.³ When Osiris was born a mighty voice was heard crying aloud that the Lord of All had come into the world.

According to the legend, Osiris reigned twenty-eight years as a king on earth. He delivered the primitive Egyptians from the reign of barbarism, for he taught them the art of sowing corn as well as fruit and vine culture. He also went to other lands to diffuse knowledge. On his return to Egypt his wicked

¹Frazer, *ibid.*, pp. 28 and 269.

²Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 12-20.

³Diodorus Siculus, i. 13. 4.

brother Set conspired against him. He made a costly coffer exactly the same size as Osiris, and promised to give it as a present to the one whom it should exactly fit. When Osiris, in ignorance of his cruel brother's treachery, was persuaded to try and win the prize, he consented to get inside, whereupon Set closed the lid and nailed it down, and threw it into the Nile. The coffer was carried by the waves to Byblus, where it was encased by the king of that port in a pillar within his palace. When Isis learned of the loss of her brother and husband, she sheared off a lock of her hair, put on garments of mourning, and sought her beloved one far and wide. At last she found him, and having obtained possession of the coffer containing him, she returned with it to the Nile Delta and hid it among the rushes. Set, whilst hunting in the moonlight at full moon (*i.e.* the fourteenth day of the month), found Osiris. He cut up his body into fourteen parts, and scattered them abroad.

With great lamentation Isis went in her boat up and down the stream seeking the pieces of the body of Osiris. Plutarch says that she buried them wherever she found them.¹ Another Egyptian tradition says that she collected the limbs together and with her sister Nephthys sang a dirge in profound grief. This sorrow moved Ra to pity, and he sent from heaven the jackal-headed god Anubis, who, assisted by Thoth and Horus, put together the dismembered pieces of Osiris, swathed

¹This accounts for the many graves of Osiris in Egypt, see Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 18.

them with linen bandages and performed all the customary burial rites of the Egyptians. Then Osiris awoke to life again, and ever since that time he rules as King and Judge of the dead in the nether-world.¹ All the dead must appear before his judgment-seat and make their confession before him, then they will receive the reward of their virtues in eternal life or the punishment of their sins in annihilation. The confession in the Egyptian Book of the Dead is supposed to be that uttered by the departed. This confession is very similar in certain parts to the parable of the judgment of the world in Matthew xxv. 31 ff.: "I gave bread to the hungry" of the Confession recalls, "For I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat" (Matt. xxv. 35).

In the awakening to life of Osiris, the Egyptians saw the guarantee of immortality for themselves and their departed ones. The dead man is identified with Osiris and bears his name. "As surely as Osiris lives, so shall he live also; as surely as Osiris did not die, so shall he not die; as surely as Osiris cannot be destroyed, so shall he not be destroyed."² This resurrection of the dead was thought to be like the reawakening of Osiris, not merely in a spiritual sense, but also in a material sense. The dead have their heart, senses, mouth, and all their limbs.

The festival of Osiris was held in the autumn from the 17th to the 20th of Athyr (13th to the 16th of November).³ This was the time when the Nile fell,

¹Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*, pp. 35 ff. and Frazer, *op. cit.* pp. 271 ff.

²Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 275.

³*Ibid.* p. 318, and Plutarch, *op. cit.* 39.

and the corn was then sown. The sowing of the corn appealed to the old Egyptians as the burial of the divine element, and "it was fitting that like a human burial it should be performed with gravity and the semblance, if not the reality, of sorrow."¹ The Psalmist also sings, but from a more natural point of view, "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy" (cxxxvi. 5 f.).

The festival was celebrated annually with great pomp. It was but natural that different customs should obtain in different localities. Processions took place and the sufferings of the god were displayed as a mystery.² The latter represented the mournful search for the dead Osiris, and the joyful discovery of the god and the happiness associated with his resurrection. With a people like the old Egyptians with whom the belief in a future life played such an important part, Osiris, the God who guaranteed a future existence, must have been looked upon as a deity of the first magnitude.

A great feature of the festival was the nocturnal illumination. It has been suggested by Dr. Frazer³ that this custom "may have been a commemoration not merely of the death of Osiris, but of the dead in general; in other words, that it may have been a Night of All Souls."⁴

Osiris the corn-god became in course of time

¹Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 295.

²Herodotus, ii. 170.

³*Op. cit.* p. 301.

⁴The custom of lighting lamps for the dead obtains in Jewish practice.

identified with the Sun-god, and as we have seen, as Serapis he became the supreme God. The great antiquity of his cult, the majestic pomp of his ritual, the organized priesthood and the magnificent processions procured for his cult an easy entrance into the Roman world, and helped to transmute the old Roman State worship into a new religion, the inheritance of which was gladly accepted by the Christian Church. The Church Fathers were well acquainted with the heathen cults of the Egyptians.

Lactantius tells us, "In Egypt there are sacred rites in honour of Isis, since she either lost or found her little son. For at first her priests, having made their bodies smooth, beat their breasts, and lament, as the goddess herself had done when her child was lost. Afterwards the boy is brought forward, as if found, and that mourning is changed into joy. Therefore Lucian says: 'And Osiris never sufficiently sought for.' For they always lose and they always find him."¹

Again, Tertullian writes:—"Osiris also, whenever he is buried, and looked for to come to life again, and with joy is recovered, is an emblem of the regularity wherewith the fruits of the ground return, and the elements recover life, and the year comes round again."²

Osiris most have appealed to the more refined classes of the Egyptians because he was represented in *human form*, and was never associated with any animal figure. It has been suggested³ that the historic basis of

¹ *Divine Institutes*, I. xxi.

² *Adv. Marc.* I. xii.

³ Frazer, *op. cit.* 351 ff.

the Osiris myth is to be traced to the struggles of tribes who worshipped different gods and who fought together until one overcame the other. The god of the conqueror is then considered to have overcome the god of the vanquished. "The struggle of Horus and Set is expressly stated on the Temple of Edfu to have been a tribal war" between the followers of Horus and Set. "Osiris was the god of a tribe which occupied a large part of Egypt. The kings of this tribe were sacrificed after thirty years' reign (like the killing of kings at fixed intervals elsewhere) and they thus became the Osiris himself. Their bodies were dismembered . . . and the bones distributed among the various centres of the tribe. . . . The worshippers of Set broke in upon this people, stopped their worship, or killed Osiris, as was said, and established the dominion of their animal god. They were in turn attacked by the Isis worshippers, who joined the older population of the Osiris tribe, re-opened the shrines, and established the Osiris worship again. The Set tribe returning in force, attacked the Osiris tribe and scattered all the relics of the shrines in every part of the land. To re-establish their power the Osiris and Isis tribes called in worshippers of the hawk-Horus, who were old enemies of the Set tribe, and with their help finally expelled the Set worshippers from the whole country."¹

Osiris is believed to have been the national god as early as the beginning of the pre-historic culture. He was worshipped as a ruler of the dead, and not as a god of action in the affairs of men on earth.

¹Petrie, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 40 f.

In the form of Serapis,¹ Osiris was identified by the Ptolemies with Zeus, both in appearance and by attributes. By the time of Nero, Isis and her son Horus were claimed to be the deities of all the world. Isis and Horus, the Queen of Heaven and her Holy Child, became the most popular deities of Egypt. Horus, carried by his mother in her arms, appears in the terra cotta images "in a form that is indistinguishable from that adopted by Christianity soon after."²

Isis, the Virgin goddess, and Horus her son still ruled in the Church, although the names were changed.³ Egyptian theology contributed no small quota to the Trinitarian controversies, which rent the Church for so many centuries. Christian monasticism and asceticism owe their origin to similar Egyptian heathen institutions.

The Egyptian deities were commonly arranged in trinities of a simple and natural type, each comprising a father, a mother and a son. Dr. Budge tells us that "speaking generally, two members of such a triad were gods, one old and one young, and the third was a goddess, who was, naturally, the wife, or female counterpart, of the older god. The younger god was the son of the older god and goddess, and he was supposed to possess all the attributes and powers which belonged to his father. . . . The son . . . was nearly as important as his father. . . . The conception of the triad or trinity is, in Egypt, probably as old as the belief in gods, and it seems to be based on the anthropomorphic

¹Frazer, *op. cit.* 349 f.

²Petrie, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 91.

³The resemblance of Isis to the Virgin Mary has often been pointed out. See Drexler, in Roscher, *op. cit.* ii. p. 428 ff.

views which were current in the earliest times about them."¹

It is not at all improbable that Philo owed his conception of a Trinity to Egyptian influence. We have already seen how he, in his turn, has influenced the Christian Church with reference to the Logos and the Trinity.

LITERATURE.

A. Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (1897) and his article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt* (1898), and E. A. Wallis Budge's *Osiris*.

PERSIA.

The last Oriental religion to find a home in Europe was the cult of Mithras, a Persian god.² His religion spread very quickly in the Roman Empire shortly after its introduction by the Cilician pirates captured by Pompey.³ As far as England and Wales⁴ in the West, and the Rhine and the Donau in the near East, this worship was introduced by the Imperial soldiers. Mithras was known as the Sun-god (Sol Invictus).⁵ He was the light that saw all things with his thousand

¹ *The Gods of the Egyptians*, i. pp. 113 ff.

² See Cumont's article on Mithras in Roscher's *Lexikon*, ii. 2. and also Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithras*.

³ Plutarch, *Vit. Pompei*, 24.

⁴ Roscher, ii. 2. 3034.

⁵ On Mithras as a Sun-God, see Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, p. 36. See also Roscher, *op. cit.* 3029.

eyes, and heard all things with his thousand ears.¹ His cult was closely connected with the cult of the Great Mother of the Gods (Magna Mater) at Rome, whose influence served in no small degree to protect and to popularize it. His connection with Anahita, the goddess of fruitfulness, as well as his rôle as the slayer of bulls, may indicate his original nature as having been a vegetation-god.² Be this as it may, Mithras is held to belong to the category of gods who die and rise to life again. On the monuments he is shown ascending to heaven in the car of the Sun-god.³ When, in course of time, he was worshipped as the Sun-god there was no need to refer to his death.

The cult of Mithras was the most ethical of all the heathen Oriental religions. The god was believed to have led a pure and holy life.⁴ He did not marry nor did he seek intercourse with any of the goddesses. His religion was based on ethical principles. His followers were charged to live in harmony as the children of one Father. They were thereby to be united in their obedience to their god and in their loyalty to one another. Purity was their watchword. Their god was the personification of truth.⁵ Holy meals or communion sacrifices united them in the solemn rites of their worship with their god, whose help they constantly needed in their conflict with temptation and evil.

¹Roscher, *op. cit.* 3029.

²Jeremias, *A.T.A.O.* p. 106 ; Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 175.

³Roscher, *op. cit.* 3050.

⁴See Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, p. 127.

⁵Roscher, *op. cit.* 3029.

According to the legend, Mithras was born in a cave.¹ Now a very early tradition tells us that the birth of Jesus did not take place in a stable, but in a cave.² Shepherds are the first to offer worship to Jesus as well as to Mithras at their birth.³ Mithras was called the Rock-born;⁴ likewise in i. Cor. x. 4, Jesus was called the *Rock*. This designation was later on transferred to Peter (Petrus = Kephas). Peter was the chief apostle of Jesus, and to him also were given the cock and the keys, two of the symbols of Mithras.⁵

The chief deed of Mithras was the slaying of the bull, a mythical creature of the Creation, for out of its blood all the fertility of the earth arose.⁶ Because of this cosmic act Mithras was accounted the Creator of all (*δημιουργός*). Another sacrifice of the bull will again take place at the end of the ages to bring about a new creation of the world.⁷ Mithras, who performs the sacrifice, is considered to be the world-redeemer, through whom the new creation will take place, and who will then revive the dead.⁸ The followers of Mithras believed not only in the resurrection, but also

¹Roscher, *ibid.*

²Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 78; Z.f.d.N.T.W. 1902. p. 359, and cf. Gospel of Birth of Mary, 13.

³Roscher, *op. cit.* 3047, and Jeremias, *Babl. im N.T.* p. 56.

⁴Justin, *Dial.* 70.

⁵Roscher, *op. cit.* 3039 for illustration showing the God with cock and keys.

⁶Roscher, *op. cit.* 3051 f.

⁷The first religious act performed by Adam, says the Midrash, was the slaying of a bull (*T. B. Aboda Zara* 8a.).

⁸Cumont, *Textes*, i. 184 ff. and Roscher, *op. cit.* 3055. See also Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N.T.* p. 203 f.

in the immortality of the soul.¹ In his relation to the gods, Mithras occupied an intermediary position. He was the Mediator (μεσίτης) between Ahura-Mazda and humanity; he was also the victorious helper of the God of good against his enemy Ahriman, the God of evil.²

In the New Testament we meet with the idea of the faithful forming the army of Christ (Militia Christi). This term has probably been borrowed from the custom of the followers of Mithras,³ who also formed themselves into a spiritual army. The members of this army were called *milites* or soldiers.⁴ Both the followers of Jesus as well as the worshippers of Mithras believed that their fight was not directed against human beings, but against the powers of darkness, the evil spirits beneath the heavens (cf. Eph. vi. 10 ff.).

Exceedingly important is the fact that Mithras took over the rôle of the Persian Messiah Sôshyans,⁵ who at the end of time will be born of a virgin, and will come from the far East to redeem the world by putting an end to death. He will eventually overcome Ahriman, the God of Evil, and then in glory will he rule over a renewed world. Mithras is the creator, the mediator and the redeemer. Dr. Brückner tells us that Sôshyans was also called Astvaterta or God-made-flesh.⁶ Here also we have a

¹Tertullian, *De praescr. haeretic.* 40.

²Cumont, *Textes*, i. 300.

³Cumont, *op. cit.* i. 317.

⁴Roscher, *op. cit.* 3033.

⁵Windischmann, *Mithra*, pp. 73 ff.

⁶*Op. cit.* p. 31, and see above, p. 100.

form of the Incarnation, but it would not be wise to draw any conclusion from this parallel, as we do not know sufficient of its implication. Mithras plays his chief rôle in the hereafter. At the moment when the soul of man has to cross the terrible bridge Cinvat,¹ Mithras is present to conduct the departed into the next world. All the souls of the dead must appear before him, because he is their judge.

In course of time, the Mithras-cult became associated with astrology. This is evident from the monuments, where Mithras is surrounded by the seven planets or Amesha-Spentas.² Another point of contact with astrology is shown by the presence of the twelve signs of the Zodiac on the monuments which record the life and deeds of Mithras.³ In the crypt where Mithras was worshipped there was a relief in the background depicting him as a slayer of the bull. In the centre was the holy fire. The initiated were divided into seven classes.⁴ They called one another "brother," just as obtains to this day in Catholic monasteries. The chief of the community was styled *Summus pontifex*,⁵ who was probably the *pater patrum* (Father of the Fathers) as in the Attis worship. He was only allowed to marry once. The law of Jesus also permitted only one wife. Among the followers of Mithras, as well as

¹Roscher, *op. cit.* 3055.

²See Moffatt in *Hibbert Journal*, 1903-4. ii. p. 350 f.

³Roscher, *op. cit.* 3057. Cumont tells us that this feature was due to Babylonian influence.

⁴Roscher, *op. cit.* 40.

⁵Tertullian, *op. cit.* 40.

among the followers of Jesus, were virgins and celibates who had taken the vow of perpetual chastity.

Tertullian called the acts of initiation of the Mithras cult *Sacraments*.¹ These sacraments had both a ritual as well as an ethical meaning, and consisted of baptisms, holy meals, and anointing of the forehead, which Tertullian compares with the rites of Christian confirmation. Neither the theology nor the ritual gave the religion of Mithras its supreme importance, for this was due to its dualistic belief and its fine ethical system. Its dualism did not mean the opposition between spirit and matter, soul and body, but between light and darkness, good and evil, truth and falsehood. Not God versus the world, but the good God contrasted with the evil God. The conflict between the two powers in heaven and on earth forms the drama of the world's history, which will culminate in the victory of the good God. This dualism suggested to man a practical interest in life, for was it not his duty to help his God in overcoming evil?

Mithraism had positive precepts (ἐντολαί)² which we no longer know. It laid the greatest stress on truth, and taught the love of man to his fellow creatures. Such a morality touched the innermost chords of the human heart, insisting on pure thoughts, clean words and holy deeds. The dualism of Mithraism is again found in Christianity, and Mithraism may therefore be

¹*Ibid.*

²Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales*, pp. 187 and 308.

regarded as a valuable predecessor which prepared the way for the Church, which eventually proved to be its incessant enemy and persecutor. Mithras, like the Christ or the Logos, was not only creator and mediator, but also the invincible foe of the satanic powers. Mithras is therefore called ἀνίκητος (invictus, insuperabilis) who leads his servants when they fight against the powers of darkness.

LITERATURE.

See Roscher, ii. 2, pp. 3030, 3057 and 3071.

ROME.

In Rome the Attis cult was associated with the old Persian Mithras cult, the latter being introduced long after the former had been established. The two forms of religion were closely united in all parts of the Roman Empire. In respect both of doctrine and ritual, the cult of Mithras appears to have presented many points of resemblance not only to the religion of Attis and Cybele, but also to Christianity.¹ Tertullian noted the similarity and, like Justin and other Church Fathers, explained this coincidence as the work of the demons, who tried to seduce the souls of men from the true religion of Christ by a false and insidious imitation of it.² Augustine admits that the priest of Cybele argued saying, "et ipse Pileatus Christianus est"—that even he himself dressed in the cap (a Phrygian head-dress of Attis)

¹Cumont, *Textes*, i. pp. 333 ff., and see above, p. 169 ff.

²Tertullian, *De Corona* 15, and Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 253, and cf. above, p. 135 f.

is also a Christian.¹ Attis and his chief priest in Rome both had the name of Pope (Papās) and the priest styled himself 'pater patrum' (Father of the Fathers). He, like the Pope of the Christian Church, wore a triple crown and the Papal chair itself has come down from heathen times. On the site of St. Peter's at Rome there once stood the temple of Attis. We can see that the Christian Church has absorbed to a considerable extent the rites and customs of the Attis-Mithras cult.

Dr. Frazer² has taught us that the festival of Christmas was borrowed by the Church from the religion of Mithras. "In the Julian calendar the twenty-fifth of December was reckoned the winter solstice, and it was regarded as the Nativity of the Sun, because the day begins to lengthen and the power of the sun to increase from that turning-point of the year. If we may trust the evidence of an obscure scholiast the Greeks used to celebrate the birth of the luminary at that time by a midnight service, coming out of the inner shrines and crying, "The Virgin has brought forth! The light is waxing!" Mithras was identified with the Sun (Sol Invictus), hence his nativity also fell on December 25th. Dr. Frazer also tells us that the Easter celebration of the death and resurrection of Christ appears to have been influenced by the similar celebration of the death and resurrection of Attis, which was held at Rome at the same season.³ The tradition

¹ *In Jn. evang. tract.* 7. p. 1140 (Migne).

² Frazer, *op. cit.* pp. 254 ff.

³ *Ibid.* p. 256.

which placed the death of Christ on the twenty-fifth of March was ancient and deeply rooted. It had no historical foundation. The inference is inevitable that the celebration of the death of Christ must have been arbitrarily fixed on that date in order to harmonize with the heathen celebration of Attis at the vernal equinox. There are other heathen festivals which have been replaced by Christian feasts. "The coincidences of the Christian with the heathen festivals are too close and too numerous to be accidental. They mark the compromise which the Church in the hour of its triumph was compelled to make with its vanquished yet still dangerous rivals."¹ Not only was Christmas borrowed by the Church from the cult of Mithras. "The use of bell and candle, holy water and the communion; the sanctification of Sunday, . . . the insistence on moral conduct, the emphasis placed on abstinence and self-control; the doctrine of heaven and hell, of primitive revelation, of the mediation of the Logos emanating from the Divine, the atoning sacrifice, the constant warfare between good and evil and the final triumph of the former, the resurrection of the flesh and the fiery destruction of the universe—are some of the resemblances which, whether real or only apparent, enabled Mithraism to prolong its resistance to Christianity."²

LITERATURE.

See Cumont in Roscher and his *Les Religions Orientales*, cf. also 'Mithras' in *Enc. Britt.* (1911), and Albert Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*.

¹Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 260.

²*Enc. Britt.* (1911), xviii. 624, and Cumont, in Roscher, *op. cit.* 3066.

POSTSCRIPT.

It may be asked, To what purpose is such a limited study of some of the origins of Christianity? Our answer is two-fold: (1) to popularize the study of Comparative Religion, and (2) to enable the reader to learn the truth as to the connection between Christianity and Judaism on the one hand and the Hellenistic Oriental religions on the other. No religious system ever fell down from heaven ready-made and complete. Religion is the result of a human want, and not of heavenly need. We can now summarize the results which our consideration of the facts has suggested.

The various Hellenistic cults, in spite of their different customs and ceremonies, betray a unity and possess many similar rites and beliefs which point to a common origin. This is specially to be seen in the underlying fact that all these cults speak of a *Dying God who comes to life again*. There was a marked difference between the Oriental religions and the State religions of the early Greeks and Romans. The State religions considered above all else political interests, and demanded the subordination of the individual interest to that of the community. On the other hand, the Oriental religions were quite indifferent to the well-being of the

State. Their chief interest was concerned with the individual and his future salvation. Instead of the patriot there arose the saint.

We have already drawn attention to the historical fact that Judaism with its strict monotheism was unable to come to terms with the Hellenistic heathen cults. In most of the Oriental religions the central figure of the worship was a Saviour-God, who was not the Supreme God. This chief God was considered to be removed far away from men, enthroned above the stars, whilst the Redeemer-God appears on earth in the guise of a human being, who is born, who suffers, and who dies; whose life is entwined with the lives of ordinary men and women, but who shows his Divinity by being quickened from the dead and ascending to heaven. The risen God will save all who believe in him, and will bestow on the faithful eternal life. Hence arose the Mysteries of the God, through which the faithful entered into communion with the Redeemer-God, and were thereby guaranteed the salvation for which they longed. Here we find much that has its parallel in Christianity. We have shown that Easter¹ and Christmas, Baptism and Holy Communion, were all known to the Hellenistic cults before the birth of Christianity. The attempt to find the origin of these institutions of the Church in Judaism has been shown to be improbable. As an instance in point, let us very briefly consider the Easter celebration.

¹The name itself is a survival of heathen mythology. Neither the New Testament nor the Apostolic Fathers speak of the Easter festival.

One party in the Church, influenced by Jewish tradition, fixed Easter on the date corresponding to the Jewish Passover, the 14th of Nisan ; but if this date did not happen to be on a Sunday, the festival was postponed to that day. This custom was opposed by others, who celebrated the festival on the 14th of Nisan whatever day it might happen to be. There may have been in this custom a conscious attempt to deny any connection between Easter and the heathen festivals.

The Church festival of Easter consisted of three parts : (1) The fast before Easter, (2) the Easter Vigil, and (3) the breaking of the fast on Easter morning. The length and manner of the fast varied in different localities. The Vigil was observed by keeping awake all night, singing psalms and prayers either in the home or in the places of prayer. At midnight or at cockcrow the fast was broken, and the Agape or meal of love was taken. The Sunday was especially the day of joy, "*Dominicus gaudii*" i.e. the Sunday of rejoicing. It must not be supposed that the Easter fast is the Jewish fast observed by the first-born on the 14th of Nisan. This fast was only observed by the male first-born among the Hebrews, whereas in the Church the Easter Fast was kept by *all* the faithful Christians. Epiphanius¹ draws attention to the differences between the Passover and Easter, although he believes that the latter was influenced by the former. The Jewish Passover signifies

¹Cf. also Epistle of Cyril of Alexandria to Pope Leo I. (Baller, i. p. 601).

the redemption of Israel from human bondage whilst Easter signifies the death and resurrection of the God-Saviour of the Christians. In other words, the Jewish festival is historical, whereas the Christian festival is theological. We have seen how important the 25th day of March was in the festival of Attis, and in many Christian communities in the Hellenistic world this day became identified with the Christian Easter Day. This was especially the case in such places where the Attis worship flourished, as in Phrygia, Galatia, and perhaps in Rome. This coincidence of place and time is too striking to admit of any other explanation save that of direct borrowing on the part of the Church. Further confirmation of this conclusion may be seen in the way in which the festival was celebrated. In the Greek Church we find to this day an exact reproduction of the heathen rites. In the Church the image of the dead Christ is placed on a catafalque; fasting and weeping obtain. Then the image is carried in solemn procession to be buried, and is afterwards brought back from the grave into the Church. At even-time on Easter Day lights are brought into the sacred place, and the cry is heard "The Lord has arisen, he has verily arisen!" Lamentation and the fasting cease, and the worshippers are full of joy and happiness because the god has come to life again.¹ If, then, as we see, such an Easter festival owes its origin to heathen sources, is it not a fair inference that its accompanying message and teaching have also arisen from the same source?

¹See Brückner, *op. cit.* p. 44.

Our present task is done. We wish the facts to speak for themselves, and we rely on the goodwill of the reader to accept or reject the conclusions arrived at, for truth is eternal and can never be overcome.

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